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Table of Contents

JULY, 1958

ARTICLES

Some Roots of American Nativism . . *Colman J. Barry* 137

Another Look at Nativism . . . . . *John Higham* 147

Comments by Gilbert A. Cahill 159

BOOK REVIEWS 165

NOTES AND COMMENTS 237

BRIEF NOTICES 247

PERIODICAL LITERATURE 259

BOOKS RECEIVED 265

BOOK REVIEWS

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. (Edited by F. L. Cross). Martin R. P. McGuire 165

History of the Catholic Church. (Thomas P. Neill and Raymond H. Schmandt). Alfred C. Rush 168

Twenty Centuries of Church and State. A Survey of Their Relations in Past and Present. (Sidney Z. Ehler). Charles R. Meyer 169

The Early Christian Church. Two volumes. (Philip Carrington). Francis X. Murphy 170

The Holy Fire. The Story of the Fathers of the Eastern Church. (Robert Payne). Charles P. Loughran 173

English Church Plate, 597-1830. (Charles Oman). William Wilfrid Bayne 174

Cathedral and Crusade. Studies of the Medieval Church, 1050-1350. (Henri Daniel-Rops. Translated by John Warrington). Henry A. Callahan .. 175

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, Volume XIII, *1471-1484.* Two Parts. (Prepared by J. A. Twemlow). Philip Hughes 176

Naked to Mine Enemies. The Life of Cardinal Wolsey. (Charles W. Ferguson). Eric McDermott 178

A History of the Council of Trent. Volume I. (Hubert Jedin. Translated by Ernest Graf). Brian Tierney 179

Estudios Ignacianos. Volume I, *Estudios Biograficos;* II, *Estudios Espirituales.* (Pedro de Leturia, S.J.). Cyprian J. Lynch 181

Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O.S.A. (1507-1584): A Study of His Life and His Contribution to the Religious and Intellectual Affairs of Early Mexico. (Arthur Ennis, O.S.A.) Edwin A. Beilharz 182

Saint John of the Cross. (Father Bruno de Jesús-Marie, O.D.C. With an introduction by Jacques Maritain). Columba Cary-Elwes 184

The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr. (Christopher Devlin). Joachim Smet 185

Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950. (E. T. Watkin). Gaetano L. Vincitorio 186

From Bossuet to Newman. The Idea of Doctrinal Development. (Owen Chadwick). C. Stephen Dessain 188

A History of the Catholic Church. Volume VIII, *Period of the Early Nineteenth Century (1823-1878).* (Fernand Mourret, S.S. Translated by Newton Thompson). Thomas P. Neill 190

Histoire du Mouvement Mutualiste Chrétien en Belgique. (Rudolph Rezohazy). Joseph N. Moody 191

Christian Democracy in Europe, 1820-1953. (Michael P. Fogarty). Aidan C. McMullen 193

Mercy unto Thousands. Life of Mother Mary Catherine McAuley, Foundress of the Sisters of Mercy. (Sister M. Bertrand Degnan, R.S.M.). Edward A. Ryan 194

Saint Bernadette Soubirous, 1844-1879. (Francis Trochu. Translated and adapted by John Joyce, S.J.). Mother Mary Alice Gallin 196

Newman, His Life and Spirituality. (Louis Bouyer of the Oratory. Translated by J. Lewis May). Louis A. Arand 197

The White Fathers. (Glenn D. Kittler). John J. Daly 205

Rafael Cardinal Merry del Val. (Marie Cecilia Buehrle). Walter H. Peters 206

Thunder in the Distance: the Life of Père Lebbe. (Jacques Leclercq. Translated by George Lamb). William J. Coleman 208

Cardinal von Galen. (Heinrich Portmann). Jane K. Miller 211

Anscar Vonier, Abbot of Buckfast. (Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B.). Columba Cary-Elwes 213

In a Great Tradition. Tribute to Dame Laurentia McLachlan, Abbess of Stanbrook. (Benedictines of Stanbrook). Dora J. Gunderson 214

Vatican Journal, 1921-1954. (Anne O'Hare McCormick. Compiled and edited by Marion Turner Sheehan; introduced by Clare Boothe Luce). Thomas L. Lalley 215

The Christian Church in Canada. (H. H. Walsh). Robert E. Lamb 216

The Catholic Church in Maine. (William Leo Lucey, S.J.) Thomas F. Casey 218

L'Eglise Canadienne sous le Régime militaire, 1759-1764, I. *Les Problèmes* (Marcel Trudel). Charles H. Metzger 219

Observations on California, 1772-1790. (Luis Sales, O.P. Translated and edited by Charles N. Rudkin). Eugene D. Burnett 220

The Treasures of Mission Santa Ines, A History and Catalog of the Paintings, Sculpture, and Craft Works. (Kurt Baer). Sister St. Francis Sheerin 221

Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years. (John M. Daley, S. J.). Thomas T. McAvoy 223

La Santa Sede y la Emancipación Hispanoamericana. (Guillermo Furlong, S.J.). Joseph T. Criscenti 224

Notices & Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest. (Translated and edited by Carl Landerholm). Sister Letitia Mary Lyons 225

Philippine Duchesne, Frontier Missionary of the Sacred Heart, 1769-1852. (Louise Callan, R.S.C.J.). Ralph F. Bayard 227

Milestones of Mercy: Story of the Sisters of Mercy in St. Louis, 1856-1956. (Sister Mary Isidore Lennon, R.S.M.). Sister Mary Carol Schroeder 228

Kansas Monks: A History of St. Benedict's Abbey. (Peter Beckman, O.S.B.). Sister M. Evangeline Thomas 230

With Lamps Burning. (Sister M. Grace McDonald, O.S.B.). Sister M. Rosalita Kelly 232

The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America. (Robert D. Cross). Francis L. Broderick 233

Democracy and Catholicism in America. (Currin V. Shields). Francis G. Wilson 235

The Catholic Historical Review

Vol. XLIV JULY, 1958 No. 2

SOME ROOTS OF AMERICAN NATIVISM

By

COLMAN J. BARRY*

During the time that research was being undertaken on the topic of this paper, with a view to hunting out some fresh insights into old facts, a public letter appeared in the San Francisco *Chronicle* from Walter Echo-Hawk, a Missouri Indian. The chief commented:

> I notice that another Mayflower has landed. Inasmuch as my folks are still smarting from the arrival of the last Mayflower passengers, I hope this group has just come along for the ride.[1]

Although this statement may not have been a precisely critical interpretation and analysis of the factors involved, it at least indicated the general interest in the topic of American nativism.

It certainly is a different climate today among American historians than that which was described by Herbert Eugene Bolton when he summarized the prevalent point of view he encountered toward the close of the nineteenth century. Bolton wrote:

> Democrats were born to be damned; Catholics, Mormons, Jews were looked upon askance. The Americans licked England; they licked the Indians; all good Indians were dead Indians; the English came to America

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* In its original form this article of Father Barry, O.S.B., assistant professor of history in St. John's University, Collegeville, was read as a paper at the joint session of the American Catholic Historical Association and the American Historical Association in New York, December 29, 1957.

[1] San Francisco *Chronicle*, June 30, 1957.

to build homes, the Spaniards merely explored and hunted gold; Spain failed in the New World; the English always succeeded; their successors, the Americans, were God's Elect; American history all happened between the 49th parallel and the Rio Grande; the Americans virtuously drove the Mexicans out of New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, Arizona, and the rest, and thereby built a great empire.[2]

Bolton went on to say that he had spent half of his lifetime in discovering that these concepts were false in whole, or at least in part, and the other half in studying, teaching, and writing his borderlands theory of the epic of greater America.

For the past half century the research of the so-called school of "new history," and of contemporary historians in social and intellectual history, has contributed toward a synthesis of the full character of American developments. Three allied aspects of American life, viz., nationalism, immigration, and nativism have received treatment by an impressive number of competent historians. It is not *ad rem* to recite the litany of their contributions here, but at least the well known names must be mentioned of such pacemakers as Hayes, Schlesinger, Billington, Hansen, Wittke, Handlin, Wright, and last but not the least, John Higham who offered us a year ago a highly stimulating study of nativism since the Civil War. The late Richard J. Purcell was in many ways the pioneer in studies in the field of American nativism. Purcell directed over forty theses during his twenty-five years at the Catholic University of America on local, regional, and national incidents and manifestations of this phenomenon during the colonial, Revolutionary, and national periods. His sudden death in 1950 prevented him from writing the systematic analysis of nativist developments that he had in mind for several years.

As a result of the scholarship of these individuals we now have an acceptable and working definition of nativism, i.e., "intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e., 'un-American') connections." Such a definition points up and reveals some provocative antagonisms manifesting themselves in three broad areas of conflict which mark and mar American history: first, anti-Catholicism in the colonial period based on the English Protestant tradition along with the historic fears of the Spanish and French empires, and in the national period a complex religious, social, and economic resentment

[2] José de Onis, "The Americas of Herbert E. Bolton," *The Americas,* XII (October, 1955), 158.

against immigrants; second, a fear of foreign radicals beginning in the 1790's; third, a positive doctrinal concept of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-American superiority extending throughout our history and implying the inferiority of other peoples.[3] To date, research has centered on studies of these nativist antagonisms as organized American movements variously analyzed in time and place. Existing research on nativism has made considerable inroads on that optimistic approach to American history, "a tall tale of the frontier," as it has been called, with its explanation of historical ideas in terms of peculiarly and exclusively American influences, or what might be termed a rather innocent vision of the nation as God's or man's effort to make a new beginning in the history of man.

There appear to be at first view two pivotal aspects to the study of nativism: the organized movements which have received attention in the past twenty-five years; and secondly, the general and less definite phenomenon of nativism which is more a state of mind, sometimes expressed, and sometimes not, and, therefore, more unpredictable. When the United States is viewed as a frontier of Europe, the possibility suggests itself that what is termed "American" by nativists could be quite general concepts not confined by national boundaries, and whose roots run far back in the traditions of western civilization. One of the most fascinating tasks that confronts the historian at this point is to try to trace the first sproutings of certain germinal concepts that later develop into more extensive and organized thought patterns.

The primary need now in the study of nativism is to search for roots of the presuppositions of thought that help to bring it about and to explain the changes that those presuppositions undergo in each nativist episode. In some ways the study of nativism is in a position analogous to that of American democratic thought or to the Puritan movement before the work of Ralph Henry Gabriel or Perry Miller in these fields. The investigation of nativist presuppositions will involve, as John C. Greene recently so well stated in regard to methods in intellectual history, a process involving both analysis and synthesis. A wider coverage of nativist materials, especially as European-rooted, is needed, along with a capacity to penetrate to implicit major premises. As it becomes evident that these premises are related to one another, an effort of synthesis can then indicate their relationships. It may also become apparent that there was not just one pattern of nativist thought,

[3] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick, 1955), p. 4.

but that there were several, some dominant, others more incipient; not the particular views of particular individuals or groups of individuals alone, but tendencies or patterns which can be discerned in the thought of each age.[4] New opportunities in the study of nativism could be found in European roots and traditions, in analyzing the continuity of civilization, and integrating particular attitudes with the experiences of other people in other lands.

More recent students of nativism are correct in not equating it with anti-Catholicism as has, perhaps, been done too often in earlier studies for the reason that one of the most obvious, consistent, and dramatic evidences of the phenomenon was directed against the Catholic immigrant. As Asiatic Americans, Negroes, Jews, and other victims of nativist attacks investigate their past, as American Catholics have done, we find that they reach similar conclusions. The qualities of nativism are more subtle and far reaching. But nativism's basic position, and one of its fundamental roots as revealed in the United States, cannot be isolated from the great religious movements of sixteenth-century Europe. American nativism moves out from that position. It may assume many forms, but structurally it is an attitude against ethnic immigrants, those who are of national backgrounds other than the core culture nationality which de Tocqueville called "Anglo American," i.e., white, Protestant, and north European. This is understandable in terms of the dynamic character of the Protestant religious movement in its first manifestations, closely tied as it was to national aspirations as in England. Nativism is one manifestation of this new force in western society which was a protest or partial breaking away from a whole which has been termed mediaeval civilization.

Thus the dominant or controlling groups in the United States saw in Catholics that whole cultural frame which their ancestors had broken from and stood against, as did liberals of the Enlightenment and the later secularists who could not accept Catholic attitudes toward a culture that they felt they had outrun. Nor did American Catholics at times help what sociologists have termed this disarticulation between the Catholic immigrant and the non-Catholic American majority. Their failure was due to many factors among which was at first the language barrier, the lack of formal education of many immigrant groups, the absence of an intellectual tradition among American Catholic immi-

[4] John C. Greene, "Objectives and Methods in Intellectual History," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (June, 1957), 58-74.

grants, and the general defensive character of Catholics who entered American society on its lowest level and in their large city groupings stood out against the conservative, rural character of early America.[5] The general nature of this conflict, then, could be better understood by a searching inquiry into the structure and general orientation of western thought with its underlying tensions which have manifested themselves in myriad ways from Hellenic times to the present day.

A second avenue of nativist research emerges at this point from the first area of investigation. Nativist oppositions or rejections of so-called "foreign" groups are a judgment on the nature and rights of man. Nativism is, therefore, by its own terms also a religious matter since questions concerning the nature and destiny of man have some theological implications. This opens the possibility of further study of nativism as an aspect of religious thought and ideals that are worthy of investigation in their own right, and not as religious thought has too often in the past been neglected except for certain phases which have interested American students as they have influenced political, economic, or social developments.

If we look for the presuppositions of American thought from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries we cannot avoid examining the religious factor, theology included. The interpretation of religious attitudes, so dominant in early America, implies, as Lord Acton has said, an approach to history as "an illumination of the soul." An examination, to take but one recent example, of Philip Hughes' three volumes on *The Reformation in England,* which has been called a full, fair, and dispassionate treatment by most reviewers, suggests that we have not exhausted the study of the religious roots of American nativism in particular, and in general of religious attitudes and their implications in the English-speaking world. The Gunpowder Plot, e.g., whatever its true history, coming two years before the settlement of the Virginia colony, was the occasion for King James I's government to seize the opportunity to prove the Catholic a national traitor. One means chosen was the introduction of a new holy day into the liturgy on November 5 with prayers in which thanksgiving for the special act of Providence by which the plot was discovered was made amid expressions that Catholics could not be good Christians and faithful subjects. This religious observance, preserved until 1859 as a service in Anglican rubrics,

[5] Thomas F. O'Dea, "The Catholic Immigrant and the American Scene," *Thought,* XXXI (Summer, 1956), 251-271.

included a communion prayer in which God was declared to have "this day . . . miraculously preserved our Church and State from the secret contrivance and hellish malice of Popish conspirators."[6]

In the same vein Isaac Waats, eighteenth-century English poet and pastor of the Independent Church of London, supplied for the dissenting groups a "Hymn of Praise for Three Great Salvations." These three salvations were from the attempted Spanish invasion of 1588, the Gunpowder Plot of November 5, 1605, and from popery and slavery through the landing of King William III on November 5, 1688. Waats' hymn concluded with a chorus that God's needs are satisfied in the praise of the heavenly choirs and of the great English nation.[7] As one indication that this close relationship between religion and British nationalism continued as a force in the nineteenth century, a recent study by Gilbert Cahill indicates that one factor in England's political stability of that time was a "xenophobic, anti-revolutionary, nationalistic spirit . . . closely connected with anti-Catholicism" that was fostered and given direction by the Conservatives[8] during the same decades that organized Native American and Know-Nothing movements were waxing strong in the United States. This is not to imply, according to the old fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, that such parallels are identical, but only that religious premises do exist, and that by judicious interpretation we may be able to approach the inner sources of nativism and the general temper that has begotten it.

The currents of religious movements and their influence on American attitudes, the psychological effects on people of the marriage of religion and nationalism previous to American settlements, might likewise be further studied with profit. Interesting connections in thought patterns emerge that are not limited to nativist attitudes toward Catholics only, but develop from these origins as infectious applications to other ethnic immigrants of national backgrounds other than the dominant core culture nationality. Sisters Augustina Ray and Marie Léonore Fell have already analyzed, in dissertations at Columbia University and the Catholic University of America respectively, the manifestations of nativist thought patterns in terms of American public opinion of

[6] Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England,* 3 vols. (New York, 1954), III, 403.

[7] Isaac Waats, *Horae Lyricae and Divine Songs* (Boston, 1854), pp. 20-23.

[8] Gilbert A. Cahill, "Irish Catholicism and English Toryism," *Review of Politics,* XIX (January, 1957), 62-77.

Catholicism in the eighteenth century, and the nativist ideas to be found in American readers, histories, and geographies before the Civil War.[9]

In the mid-nineteenth century Orestes Brownson, that intriguing intellectual wanderer, tried his hand at interpreting nativism in one of the best essays published in his *Quarterly Review*. He stated in that year of 1845 that he spoke as a native-born American who understood the American temper, and he then proceeded to analyze the roots of American nativism. One by one he examined and refuted the arguments of the nativists: supremacy of birth, dangers to free government, competition of cheap foreign labor, political manipulation of the immigrant vote, and the traditional contempt of the Irish and hatred of the French by people of English descent. He then observed that the real objections of nativists were rooted on a deeper level, not only of opposition to foreigners as such, but in a religious tradition of opposition to a separate people who are deemed incapable in religious, political, and social duties of fraternizing with their so-called "American" fellow citizens.[10] In this regard an inquiry into current Negro-white southern racial tensions in the New York *Times* during October, 1957, 112 years later, carries an interesting quotation from a North Carolina native who said:

> The South was settled by the English and Scotch-Irish. There were a few Germans and Huguenots scattered around, but no East Europeans, no Orientals. Everybody was alike. So social life carried over from the homes into school and business. Now we've got to separate the social from the education and the business.[11]

This emphasis does not imply nor does it propose a theory of single causality or the exclusion of social, economic, and political forces that have influenced the ebb and flow of nativist emotions. It is rather merely an effort to get at some fundamental, basic patterns and factors which produce change in those patterns. Further regional and local studies of nativism will reveal striking alterations as, e.g., in California where a recent study indicated that early nativist movements there

[9] Sister M. Augustina Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936); Sister Marie Léonore Fell, *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860* (Washington, 1941).

[10] Orestes A. Brownson, "Native Americanism," *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, II (January, 1845), 76-98.

[11] New York *Times*, October 13, 1957.

were directed against Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese Americans as offering threats to the economic and social position of the English-speaking miners, including Irish settlers who all too completely adapted themselves to the existing patterns of segregation when they were prospering. In 1906 when anti-Japanese agitation centered on segregation in the public school system of San Francisco the mayor of that city was an Irish Catholic and the political boss was a Jew.[12] Nor does this position imply that minority groups did not have their own peculiar hostility for the older immigrants. It is intriguing to find in immigrant publications in Germany, in port records and personal letters of German immigrants, strong antagonism expressed against what they considered the inferior qualities of the American Puritan, the Yankee, and their materialistic culture. Here, too, much fruitful study of nativist patterns awaits the research worker.

As a last point it is suggested that the adoption of a more analytical approach to nativism could enable the historian to participate in interdisciplinary studies which break through the compartmentalized traditions of the American academy. The type of analysis that permits an historian to reconstruct the thought patterns and evolving dispositions of men could prove equally serviceable in discovering the tensions in current thought. A broadening influence in discovering nativist tendencies and habits of mind, as well as their transformation, might be obtained from joint efforts with philosophers and theologians in getting at attitudes enmeshed in straits of thought and feelings, and to expose the characteristic ideas and attitudes that underpin them. The heartening interest in historical data of such contemporary theologians as Paul Tillich, John Courtney Murray, and Reinhold Niehbuhr is extremely helpful to the kind of clarification I have in mind: e.g., Tillich's dialectic of differentiating centers of power struggling against original unity in the world; Niehbuhr's stressing of the ambiguity of mankind's strength in ideals and weakness in personal failings; or Murray's emphasis on the qualities of freedom and pluralism in the United States as rooted in a practical application of the concept of the natural law and the mediaeval concept of the *homo liber et legalis*—each of these major theses could contribute to a more comprehensive synthesis of nativism.

[12] Sister M. Colette Standart, "The Early Development of Social and Economic Nativism in San Francisco and the Mining Regions of California" (Unpublished master's dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1947), pp. 40-41.

Recently Samuel Eliot Morison has asked for what he terms a deeper sense of religion than at present pervades American universities. Current strengthening of schools of theology as integral to American university life is creating a climate where the possibilities for intellectual collaboration of the kind suggested is encouraging. If we do not enter upon such an effort with positivist, relativist, or liberal-progressive presuppositions; if less emphasis is placed on encyclopedic social coverage, we can concentrate more on an investigation of movements and the historical influence of changing ideas. What is sacrificed in scope will be gained in clarity and force. Philip D. Jordan stated at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1956 that interpretation has been the yawning pitfall of the social historian. He said:

> . . . It is one thing, for example, to study the lyceum movement and quite another to find its meaning to society; it is one thing to examine the development of public health and quite another to demonstrate its significance; it is one thing to attempt to appraise the result of one individual's social philosophy upon another individual and something else again to demonstrate the impact of the thought of either one upon society. The mere collection of data without interpretation in social history is no more justifiable than is the amassing of evidence without interpretation in political history . . . A living record is of slight value if the facts and trends and movements can not be explained, are not explained, or lack meaning . . . the social historian frequently became so chauvinistic that he failed to stress the continuity of civilization or to integrate peculiaristic *mores* with the experiences of other people in other lands. It is not too difficult to recall volumes that completely fail to make adequate reference to European roots and traditions . . .
>
> Social history must organize itself and most assuredly spend as much time, if not more, in interpretation as it does in collecting. Indeed, I am not sure but that the result would be salutary if a moratorium were declared on all new research and the time thus saved be devoted to understanding and bringing together what has already been written.[13]

An analytical, interpretative procedure in regard to nativism, insisting that the mind double back constantly over the trail it has pursued to free itself more and more of the contingent, realizing that the human intellect will never be completely the master of its terms, will be, it is true, an exercise in patience. Awareness of the history existing in

[13] Philip D. Jordan, "Social History: A Nation Announcing Itself," *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, LXVI (July, 1957), 231-233, 237.

the formation of concepts is also an exercise in humility and in the acceptance of insecurity. This is not the same thing as relativism, but it is rather an acceptance of incompleteness. Frequently we know some of the truth, some of the facts, but rarely all of the facts, and few are the questions that we can answer with a simple "yes" or "no." An interpretative study of the religious roots of American nativism will not supply all the answers to this complex problem. Interpretative studies of the political, social, economic, and intellectual aspects of nativism will also supply additional and valuable insights. But an investigation into the religious background of the question, and by this is meant as well a theological interpretation of attitudes and mentalities, will reveal several common factors. It can, perhaps, likewise offer some deeper understanding not only of the negative character of prejudice, but also help to supply insights into some of the moral qualities, along with good will and restraint, which western men have gained from our Judaeo-Christian heritage as a brake on nativist tendencies. Over a century ago Brownson said that there were several roots for nativist attacks, but that basically they have a religious flavor. This position would appear equally suggestive and rewarding today as a point of departure for the historian who would assess anew the role that nativist influences have exercised on American national life.

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ANOTHER LOOK AT NATIVISM

By
JOHN HIGHAM*

My assignment this afternoon is probably not as treacherous as it appears to me to be; yet I embark upon it with acute trepidation. To deliver a paper on a subject *after* having written a book about it invites a kind of double jeopardy. There is, to be sure, an easy way out. I might sum up, more persuasively if possible, the story that is already copyrighted, with, perhaps, a special effort to lay low the critics. But they have been too indulgent for that, and anyway reiteration seldom sheds much light. Another possible way of proceeding is to flatter oneself that others may wish to go further in more or less the same direction that the author has taken, and to point out to them some parts of the terrain which he has only sketchily mapped and which they might well fill in. This strategem meets the need for innovation half-way while safeguarding the author's intellectual capital. Any activity that may result, however, is more likely to be trivial than significant. Moreover, to make such a summons requires a presumptuous self-assurance that is not always becoming.

Shall I, then, fall back upon a perilous, third alternative? Shall I acknowledge the expectation and hope, which historians are supposed to cherish, that new research will depart from present conclusions in the very act of appropriating them? Shall I confess that nativism now looks less adequate as a vehicle for studying the struggles of nationalities in America, than my earlier report of it, and other reports, might indicate? I am nerved to do so by the reflection that historical inquiry does not advance so much by reversal and disavowal as it does by a widening of focus. At its best it achieves a fruitful tension between perspectives that do not cancel, but rather complement one another.

In some such spirit, I propose that research on the conflicts associated with foreign elements in American society should take a new line. The nativist theme, as defined and developed to date, is imagina-

* Mr. Higham is associate professor of history in Rutgers University and author of *Strangers in the Land*. In its original form this article was read as a paper at the joint session of the American Catholic Historical Association and the American Historical Association, New York, December 29, 1957.

tively exhausted. Scholars who would do more than fill in the outlines of existing knowledge must make a fresh start from premises rather different from those that have shaped the studies of the last twenty years. To explain what I mean will require some consideration of the literature on nativism that is now extant, and it will be convenient for me to speak particularly of the interests and assumptions from which my own book derived.

The very term "nativism" has influenced profoundly our angle of vision in studying anti-foreign and anti-Catholic forces. The word is an "ism." It came into being in the middle of the nineteenth century to describe the principles advanced by a political party. Etymologically and historically, therefore, it refers to a set of attitudes, a state of mind. In contrast to words like assimilation, segregation, marginality, and the like, "nativism" does not direct attention primarily to an actual social process or condition. Those who study the phenomenon want to know why certain ideas emerge when and where they do, and how those ideas pass into action. Consequently, the histories of nativism have not tried, except incidentally, to clarify the structure of society. Instead, they trace an emotionally charged impulse.

While the word itself almost inevitably pulls our interest toward subjective attitudes, our contemporary culture has pushed us further in that direction. Since the 1930's the intellect and the conscience of America have been in revolt against what is call "prejudice," viz., the ill-treatment of ethnic and religious minorities. Now, prejudice is by definition subjective—a pre-judgment not grounded in factual experience. Nativism, of course, commonly qualifies as prejudice; and students regard it not only as a state of mind but as one which badly distorts the true nature of things. A good historian will certainly not consider nativism entirely as a set of prejudices; but since no one writes about it unless he shares the current revulsion against ethnic injustice, the subjective irrationality of nativism leaps to the historian's eye. He wants to know how we have mistaken one another and, perhaps too, he wishes to assure us that the mistakes were, indeed, mistakes in the sense that they arose from no compelling social need.

Along with the crusade against prejudice, another aspect of modern thought has affected the study of nativism. We live in an age that has an almost superstitious awe and distrust of ideologies. That is to say, we dread the power of ideas that are weapons in the hands of "hidden persuaders." Karl Mannheim, George Orwell, and others have taught

us to see, behind the inhumanity of our day, the coercion of ideas which interpret life in terms functional to someone's bid for power. Disseminated by the agitator and the propagandist, ideologies distort reality, attack the foundations of belief, and threaten the independence and integrity of the human mind.[1] Historians and social scientists alike have been fascinated by ideologies and have labored to expose their dynamics. There is a consequent tendency to fix upon ideology as the critical factor in many a social problem, in the perhaps tenuous hope that the problem will yield to a reasonable solution once the ideological magic is exorcised.

The relevant consideration here is that the concern over ideologies reflects, more systematically, the same assumption that underlies the concept of prejudice. Both owe a great deal to our distinctively modern emphasis on the irrational depths of human nature. The modern mind dwells on the unconscious savagery lurking in its own dark corners. At the springs of human action the irrationalist historian, novelist, or social psychologist is not likely to find realistic motives of solidarity or calculated self-interest; nor is he likely to find high ideals. Instead, he discovers a fog of myths, prejudices, stereotypes, and power-hungry ideologies. If he looks at the American past he may notice this miasma overhanging many scenes, but nowhere does he find it more densely exhibited than in nativism. Nativism displays all the terrors that beset his own sensibility. It is an ideology: a rigid system of ideas, manipulated by propagandists seeking power, irrationally blaming some external group for the major ills of society. It mobilizes prejudices, feeds on stereotypes, radiates hysteria, and provokes our outrage against ethnic injustice.

I have said enough, I hope, about the general frame of reference within which nativism is studied to indicate that interpretation of it almost inevitably stresses subjective, irrational motives. Whenever a contemporary point of view gives so much encouragement to a certain historical approach, should we not suspect that our angle of vision screens out a good deal? Specifically, should we not suspect that the nativist theme does little justice to the objective realities of ethnic relations? To answer this question concretely, let me turn to my own experience in studying the subject.

[1] In using the elusive term "ideology" in the hostile sense in which Mannheim employed it, I intend to designate a point of view toward ideas, not to endorse that point of view.

Nativism, I felt sure, would not submit to effective analysis unless it could be identified consistently as an idea. Its meaning must inhere in a set of beliefs protean enough to apply to a variety of adversaries yet definite enough to show the form and direction of its history. To unravel the strands of nativist ideology became, therefore, a central problem. I discovered that the main strands ran more or less independently of one another. There were, in fact, several nativisms, each of which fixed upon some internal alien influence as a gravely divisive threat to national unity. Generically, nativism was a defensive type of nationalism, but the defense varied as the nativist lashed out sometimes against a religious peril, sometimes against a revolutionary peril, sometimes against a racial peril. Although on occasion nativists rallied against other kinds of disloyalty too, these persistent anxieties provided a framework for studying the nativistic mentality.

Notice what I was *not* doing by pursuing the subject in this way. I was not trying to explain the total complex of ethnic tensions in American society. I was not focusing upon the institutional rivalries of Protestant and Catholic or upon their religious beliefs. I was not dealing fundamentally with the living standards of Italian and Yankee or with the party affiliations of Irish and German. All these crowded the background, for all of them helped to shape the nativist temper. Yet such basic components of the American ethnic scene could not occupy the foreground of my picture without blurring the clarity and significance of nativism as an idea. The bad habit of labeling as nativist any kind of unfriendliness toward immigrants or Catholic values had to be resisted. If nativism is not a mere term of derogation, it can embrace only antagonisms that belong within the ideologies of a passionate national consciousness.

As I studied the main nativist traditions, I discovered that over a long span of time they had not changed conceptually as much as an historian of ideas might suppose. Except on the subject of race (and in related forms of anti-Semitism), the kind of accusations which nativists leveled against foreign elements remained relatively constant. Anti-radical and anti-Catholic complaints in the twentieth century sounded much like those bruited in the eighteenth. The big changes were not so much intellectual as emotional. The same idea might be mildly innocuous at one time and charged with potent feelings at another. For the history of nativism, therefore, emotional intensity provided the significant measurement of change. If nativism was an

ideological disease, perhaps, one might best diagnose it by observing when the fever raged and when it slackened.

The outlines of an over-all interpretation now became visible. During four scattered intervals in American history (only two of which I studied in detail) nativism erupted powerfully enough to have an immediate impact on national development. In the late 1790's it produced the notorious Alien Acts. In the 1850's it contributed to the breakup of the party system. In the decade from 1886 to 1896 it magnified a host of social problems associated with unrestricted immigration. And in the period of World War I nativism unleashed repressive orthodoxies on a grand scale. In each of these four periods the United States was undergoing a major national crisis. In the 1790's international conflict intensified the cleavage between political parties. Sectional cleavage came to a head in the 1850's, class cleavage in the 1890's. World War I confronted an unprepared nation with the shock of total war. In each of these crises, confidence in the homogeneity of American culture broke down. In desperate efforts to rebuild national unity men rallied against the symbols of foreignness that were appropriate to their predicament.

My appraisal was more complex than this sketchy outline suggests, of course. And I have no doubt that nativist ideas deserve still further study, particularly to elucidate their relation to our traditions of individualism and Puritanism. What bothers me most, however, is that the concept of nativism has proved serviceable only for understanding the extreme and fanatical manifestations of ethnic discord. It illuminates the frenzies of the mob, the nightmares of the propagandist, the repressive statute, and the moments of national frustration. Nativism owes its significance to this intensity of feeling: and historians, fascinated by the men of passion and the moods of alarm, have neglected the less spectacular but more steadily sustained contentions imbedded in the fabric of our social organization.

In order to have a short-hand designation for such underlying stresses, we may call them status rivalries. By this I mean all of the activities—political, religious, economic, and associational—through which men of different ethnic backgrounds have competed for prestige and for favorable positions in community life. Status rivalries have not arisen from irrational myths but rather from objective conditions; they have not usually reached the point of hatred and hysteria; they have not depended upon ideological expression; they have not risen

and fallen in cyclical fashion. Instead, they are part of the slow processes of ethnic integration, and they have shaped profoundly the course of our social development.

For a generation historians and even most social scientists interested in the jostling of Protestant and Catholic, of Christian and Jew, of old and new Americans, have not wanted to understand these tensions as basic structural realities. To do so is to recognize that our divergent and unequal backgrounds are causes—not just results—of our difficulties. It is more comforting to think that everyone is pretty much alike[2] and that our differences are foisted upon us by myths and stereotypes. Attributing ethnic cleavage to nativism or racism takes the curse off the fact of inequality.

By the same token, the nativist approach validates our sympathy with the out-group. Nativism is primarily a one-way street, along which the native American moves aggressively against the outsider. Thus, the history of nativism inevitably portrays minorities as victims rather than participants. It permits us to assume their relative innocence. We need not ask too closely why the Irish were the shock troops of the anti-Chinese movement in California,[3] how the American Protective Association could attract a following among Negroes,[4] or why the Scots in America brought so much wrath upon themselves during the Revolution.[5]

At this point you may concede that many peripheral frictions do occur outside the orbit of nativism, but you may still insist that it explains the more persistent difficulties, such as those which Catholics and Jews have met. At times, of course, irrational myths have played the decisive part in these encounters, but not as commonly or exclusively as historians have suggested. The real issues of faith which set religious groups apart can not fairly be reduced to nativist terms. Moreover, struggles for status underlie much that we attribute too easily to irrational prejudice, and I suspect that the question of status

[2] Boyd C. Shafer, "Men Are More Alike," *American Historical Review,* LVII (1952), 593-612, exhibits the prevalent point of view.

[3] Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration, *Report* (Senate Report No. 689, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., 1877), 55-56; New York *Tribune,* February 19, 1879.

[4] New York *Tribune,* June 14, 1895; Ruth Knox Stough, "The American Protective Association" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1931), pp. 6, 63.

[5] Ian Charles Cargill Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783* (Ithaca, 1956), pp. 128-180.

has touched the daily life of most Americans more intimately than any ideological warfare.

Consider for a moment the situation of the Irish Catholic in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Did he suffer much from nativist visions of popish conspiracies? It seems unlikely. He worshipped freely and had no legal disabilities; the most extravagant propaganda against him circulated in completely Protestant rural areas remote from his own urban habitations. The great handicap he faced was his social and economic subordination to the older Americans, who treated him partly as a joke, partly as an underling, and partly as a ruffian.[6] And when he compensated in politics for his inferiority in other spheres, all the forces of Yankee respectability mobilized in Republican ranks against him. In scores of communities throughout the North both political parties were essentially ethnic coalitions.[7] Even the American Protective Association was, perhaps, chiefly effective as an instrument for ousting the Irish from the municipal jobs which they held to the disadvantage of their ethnic rivals. In the western cities where the A.P.A.'s greatest strength lay, Yankees, Scandinavians, and British used it to get control of school boards, police forces, and fire departments.[8]

[6] In spite of the vast integration that has taken place since that time, status rivalry still plays a key role in our religious divisions. A priest from Virginia recently indicated to me how much less important ideological conflict may be when he remarked that the real anti-Catholics in the South are Episcopalians. When I inquired about the Fundamentalist churches, he admitted indifferently that some rural preachers might still be thundering against the pope far from any Catholic ears; but what pained him was to be told by well-to-do Episcopalians that they could not become Catholics, although Catholic doctrines attracted them, because they would lose their standing in the community if they did so.

[7] "When he went to the Church Seminary, it was a matter of course that every member of the faculty was a Republican, and that every one of his classmates had come from a Republican household. . . . Indeed, even among the laity, Theron could not feel sure that he had ever known a Democrat; that is, at all closely. He understood very little about politics, it is true. If he had been driven into a corner, and forced to attempt an explanation of this tremendous partisan unanimity in which he had a share, he would probably have first mentioned the War, the last shots of which were fired while he was still in petticoats. Certainly his second reason, however, would have been that the Irish were on the other side." Harold Frederic, *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (New York, 1896), pp. 75-76. Cf. also Frederic C. Howe, *The Confessions of a Reformer* (New York, 1925), pp. 3, 64.

[8] The fullest evidence is in Donald Kinzer, "The American Protective Association: A Study of Anti-Catholicism" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1954).

Similarly, the Jews came up against actual conflict situations which affected them at least as seriously as did the slanders of anti-Semitic ideology. The evidence seems clear that the social discriminations which began to limit the opportunities of American Jews in the late nineteenth century owed little to nativist sources, in the sense in which I have used the term. Discrimination developed where and when Jews participated heavily in a general middle class scramble for prestige; it developed where and when a hectic pace of social climbing made the guardians of distinction afraid of being "invaded." It grew in eastern summer resorts, fraternities, and urban real estate offices, not in the South and the West where farmers were beginning to murmur about the shadowy power of the International Jew.[9]

The decisive significance of reality situations as opposed to anti-foreign propaganda may also be gauged from the very favorable reception which English immigrants have always enjoyed. If nationalist ideas dominated American ethnic relations as much as we sometimes suppose, English immigrants should have been among the most unpopular minorities at least until the 1870's. When Britain was our historic adversary, when Anglophobia was an editorial habit and twisting the lion's tail a political pastime, the English in America escaped opprobrium. In spite of their identifiable accent, their disinterest in naturalization, and their proud retention of British loyalties, the English did not differ enough from native Americans, socially and culturally, to seem outsiders.[10] Since they had no status as ethnic rivals, the nativist crusade passed them by.

How, then, are we to explain those ethnic relations which are not simply nativist, and which rest on broader or deeper foundations? We must assume, I think, that in a competitive society everything which differentiates one group from another involves a potential conflict of interest, and we must proceed to analyze the historical composition of American society in ethnic terms. The little work so far done along

[9] John Higham, "Social Discrimination Against Jews in America, 1830-1930," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XLVII (1957), 1-33.

[10] The English indifference to American citizenship was, paradoxically, one reason for the absence of conflict with native Americans, since it meant that ordinarily there was no "English vote." The English emerged as a group in American politics only on the few occasions when a goodly number of them were mobilized to counteract the more "foreign" vote of the Irish. On this whole subject cf. Rowland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 130-142.

these lines is not only fragmentary. It is also inadequate because the historians of immigration have focused too narrowly on the problem of cultural assimilation. Treating each group separately, they have weighed the effects of its old world culture against its Americanization. *Cultural* assimilation, however, does not necessarily involve *social* assimilation,[11] as the history of the Negro clearly demonstrates. Ethnic identity affects men's position in the social structure long after their ancestral culture has largely disappeared.

Since we know very little about the stratification of our society in any period, particularly in its ethnic aspects, I can offer only a few suggestions for inquiry. Probably one of the crucial determinants of ethnic status has simply been the order of arrival. In the founding of communities, in the settlement of new areas, and in the development of new industries, the first-comers secured a preferential position. Groups arriving later have usually had to enter on terms acceptable to their predecessors, who owned the land, offered the jobs, provided the credit, and controlled the sources of power and prestige. In these circumstances the new group had to accept or to struggle for a long time against a subordinate status.[12]

Immigrants have generally had such a disadvantage in America, since most of them were not pioneers. Sometimes, however, foreign groups did arrive at a sector of American society during its formative stage, thereby establishing a local respect that was not easily upset, particularly if they filled a vital need in the community. In many western communities the Irish met far less resistance than they did in New England, where the social system had congealed long before their arrival.[13] Although the Protestant Irish on the eighteenth-century frontier are the most striking example of the prestige to be derived from an early arrival, the Catholic Irish did not wholly miss comparable benefits in the new West of the first half of the nineteenth century.

[11] This distinction is perceptively elaborated and applied in Peter A. Munch, "Segregation and Assimilation of Norwegian Settlements in Wisconsin," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* XVIII (1954), 102-140.

[12] For an illuminating example involving Norwegians cf. Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology,* XII (1947), 364-375.

[13] T. C. Grattan, *Civilized America* (London, 1859), II, 28; John Richard Beste, *The Wabash: or Adventures of an English Gentleman's Family in the Interior of America,* 2 vols. (London, 1855), II, 300. On a crude regional basis, census data strengthen the impression that the Irish succeeded more easily in

Their religion, far from carrying a universal stigma, might even prove a social asset in the fairly numerous localities where the Catholic Church established the first and (for quite a while) the best academies and colleges. High status Protestants in Cincinnati, Terre Haute, and elsewhere not only welcomed the schools created by Jesuits, Sisters of Mercy, and other religious orders; they also enrolled their children to mingle on equal terms with Catholic students.[14]

Similarly, the Jews have found a relatively secure niche in places where they contributed significantly to the establishment of the community. In San Francisco Jews acquired an especially favorable status from their large share in molding the basic institutions of the city. On the other hand, they have endured a particularly bad situation in Minneapolis where they arrived late in the city's development.[15] The same relationship applied to the Japanese in two adjacent California towns in the early twentieth century. In one the Japanese settled first and were accepted in the civic life of the American society that grew up around them; in the other they came later and met bitter persecution as their numbers grew.[16]

How swiftly a group advances after its arrival also affects very strongly the reception it meets. American have expected immigrants to move toward cultural homogeneity but not to crowd the social ladder in doing so. When a new group, relatively depressed at the outset, pushes upward rapidly in the status system, conflict almost surely ensues. This happened in the late nineteenth century in the cases of the

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new western communities than they did in the older parts of the country. In 1890 only 1.8 per cent of the Irish stock (first and second generation males) employed in the North Atlantic states had high status occupations classified as professional. In the North Central states and in the Far West, however, three per cent of the Irish were in the professions. *United States Census, 1890: Population,* Part II, pp. 490, 494.

[14] One Catholic parent reported that three-quarters of the boarders in many convent schools were Protestants, and that in Terre Haute the Protestant townspeople built the teaching and living quarters for the nuns whom the local priest procured. Beste, *The Wabash,* I, 222; II, 147. Cf. also on Cincinnati, the newspaper comment quoted in John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* 4 vols. (New York, 1892), III, 340; and, for a general view, John Tracy Ellis (Ed.), *Documents of American Catholic History* (Milwaukee, 1956), pp. 267-269.

[15] Higham, "Social Discrimination," *loc. cit.,* pp. 24-26.

[16] Emory Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (New York, 1928), p. 164.

Irish and the Jews. Both came up against cruel social discriminations designed to retard the large proportion of each group who were getting ahead quickly.[17]

Contrarily, a group that stayed put might escape opprobrium, once the older Americans had become accustomed to its presence, even if it retained a good deal of its cultural distinctiveness. The Germans, who did not bear the stigma attached to the more rapidly Americanized Irish, are a case in point. Although measuring relative rates of social mobility is obviously difficult, the census of 1890 offers an illuminating comparison between the Irish and the Germans. By comparing, for each nationality, the proportion of the first generation in various occupations with the proportion of the second generation in the same occupations, it becomes evident that the Irish were climbing the social ladder rapidly while the Germans were remaining relatively static, the sons being more content to occupy the stations of their fathers. The proportion of Irish in professional occupations almost doubled between the first and the second generation; the proportion of Germans did not change. The Irish entered other white collar jobs and fled from common labor at twice the rate of the Germans.[18] Here is an important

[17] On the Irish cf. Thomas Beer, *The Mauve Decade* (New York, 1926), pp. 150, 156-165; John White, *Sketches from America* (London, 1870), p. 371.

[18] Per cent of total employed males (ten years of age and older) of each ethnic category engaged in certain occupations:

	Irish		*German*	
	Irish-born	*Second Generation*	*German-born*	*Second Generation*
Professional	1.7	3	2	2
Other White Collar	7	14	10	15
Common Labor	25	11	11	7

Compiled from *U. S. Census, 1890: Population,* Part II, pp. 484-489, 502-507. As "other white collar" I have classified agents, auctioneers, bankers and brokers, bookkeepers and accountants, clerks, commercial travellers, merchants, company officials, salesmen, stenographers, telephone and telegraph operators, undertakers, manufacturers, and publishers. The figures for common labor include only "laborers, not specified." Consequently, this stratum is substantially under-represented, since the census counted many unskilled laborers under other occupational headings.

Although the Census does not offer occupational statistics on the second generation alone, it does tabulate the number of persons, in various occupations, having mothers born in Germany, Ireland, etc. I have derived second generation statistics by subtracting the number of foreign born in these occupations from the larger number having foreign born mothers.

reason why the ambitious Irish provoked a resistance which the more phlegmatic Germans did not face.[19]

To explain such differentials between ethnic groups, historians must not shrink, finally, from studying their respective national or social characters. Surely the boisterous, free-and-easy manners of the Irish, the humble patience of the Chinese, and many ethnic inclinations we have not yet learned properly to define have shaped the relations between our various peoples. Instead of washing all of the specific color out of our ethnic fabric in our fear of propagating stereotypes, let us look for the realities behind them.

What I miss, in the most general way, is any serious effort to study historically the structure of American society—to work out, in other words, the inter-relations between classes and ethnic groups, taking account of regional and local differences. This task transcends the dimensions of nativism. It transcends a preoccupation with conflict and discord, and urges us to confront our involvements with one another in comparative terms. But as this is done, the history of nativism itself should fall into a truer perspective.

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[19] To account for the Irish-German difference in social mobility is not my present purpose, but one suggestion may be hazarded. The Irish began life in the United States with an advantage over the Germans in language and a disadvantage in status. Unlike the Germans, the Irish were concentrated chiefly in occupations and in areas where they were soon exposed to the competitive intrusion of newer nationalities—French Canadians, eastern Europeans, and Chinese. Thus the Irish were not only attracted by opportunity; they were *driven* upward by a burning desire to escape identification with these less American rivals. E.g., nowhere did an entire ethnic group improve itself more rapidly than did the Irish in the coal districts of Pennsylvania in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Poles, Hungarians, and Italians poured in. The eastern Irish were a depressed and isolated class in the days of the Molly Maguires; by the end of the century they had become skilled, respectable, and indistinguishable from the older Americans. Charles B. Spahr, *America's Working People* (New York, 1900), p. 140.

COMMENTS BY GILBERT A. CAHILL*

I would like first of all to say that I am very happy to be here commenting upon the fine papers of Father Barry and Professor Higham. I would also like to add my word of praise to the many very favorable reviews of the latter's *Strangers in The Land*. It is a classic in the important field of American nativism which stands on a par with Ray Allen Billington's *Protestant Crusade*.[1]

Father Barry's paper is less concerned with the social realities of the immigrant's status than with the search for roots of the presuppositions of thought that bring nativism about, and with the explanation of the changes that these presuppositions undergo in each nativist episode. Using John C. Greene's recent article as a point of departure, Father Barry seeks a method that will relate the presuppositions of American nativism to their European backgrounds. More recent students of nativism, he finds, are correct in not equating nativism with anti-Catholicism, which was often done in earlier studies. Despite this fact, the study of the opposition to Asiatic Americans, Negroes, Jews, and other victims of nativist attacks reveals a similarity of pattern which invites the conclusion that

> Nativism's basic position and one of its fundamental roots as they have shown themselves in the United States cannot be isolated from the great religious movement of sixteenth-century Europe. American nativism moves out from that position. It may assume many forms but structurally it is an attitude against ethnic immigrants, who are of national backgrounds other than the core culture nationality which de Tocqueville calls "Anglo-American," i.e., white, Protestant, and north European.

It is to the analysis of these currents of religious movements and the psychological effect on public attitudes of the marriage of religion and nationalism that Father Barry would bid the historian turn. For it is these attitudes brought to American shores by earlier settlers and later kept alive in American readers, histories, and geographies which illuminate the nature and content of more recent nativist campaigns against other minorities.

These remarks strike me as being very sound indeed. The roots of the presuppositions of American nativism could be pushed back at

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[1] Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938).

least to the period of Henry VIII, and certainly should be investigated around such symbols as the St. Bartholomew Massacre, the Spanish Armada with its internal enemy, the Jesuit, and its external popish plot, Titus Oates, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. These were the historical events, in many ways the English equivalent of the events of our own Revolutionary period, which received religious and nationalistic treatment by British historians, pamphleteers, and newspaper editors throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As late as January, 1848, one month before the outbreak of the French revolution of that year, the *Edinburgh Review* wrote:

> There is a perpetual tendency in political affairs to a reliance upon antiquated maxims; men are prone to apply to the present time, without correction, the formulas which obtained a currency under a former but different state of things. . . . For example, there was a time when the Pope yielded a formidable power; when the Protestant church of this country was in real danger from the machinations of the great Roman Catholic states and from the treachery of our own Kings. . . . Now that the Pope is powerless, and the Roman Catholic states do not dream of attacking the Protestantism of England, the Tory has taken up the discarded Whig principle of the last century and talks of the Protestant Succession, the Coronation Oath, and the glorious Revolution of 1688. . . . Thus every generation, in succession, runs a risk of being sacrificed to a sort of afterwisdom, and of being governed by maxims which a former generation rightly adopted, but which are no longer applicable.[2]

The religious sentiments associated with these symbols were communicated to millions of British children through Fox's *Book of Martyrs* and the tracts of the numerous Bible and missionary societies which mushroomed across the world in the first half of the nineteenth century. The pages of the *Dublin Review* and the *British Critic* during 1835-1837 have much information on this topic. Billington's *Protestant Crusade* is full of useful information and Wilfrid Ward's *Life of Cardinal Wiseman* has an extremely able statement on English attitudes toward papists. In my own research I found over and over again that November 5 was used as the date to launch the "no-Popery" cry in the crucial anti-Catholic campaigns of 1835-1841.

It is my feeling that the battle of the Reformation was refought in Europe, in England, and in the United States in the years following the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. The story of the interaction

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, LXXXVII (January, 1848), 168.

of individuals and groups that proceeded across national borders has been but imperfectly told. The dynamic groups whose activities should be chronicled are those of the Evangelicals. Professor Gabriel's chapter on Evangelical Christianity and Winthrop S. Hudson's *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* are sensitive expositions of the positive role played by Evangelical Protestantism in the development of American democratic thought and practice.[3] It must be added, however, that there was another side to this Evangelical coin, a negative side which has been brilliantly treated by Professor Billington. Attention should also be called to Clifford S. Griffin's Pelzer Award article of 1957 which relates Evangelical Protestantism to the changing Calvinism of an earlier age and which treats religious benevolence as a kind of social control. Interestingly enough, Mr. Griffin finds that American Evangelicals recognized the need for measures of social control in 1829 as the result of the waves of republicanism set in motion by Andrew Jackson's popularity.[4] In England the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832 gave rise to similar apprenhensions of republicanism, radicalism, jacobinism, and the subversion of the constitutional and social order.

The conflict between Protestant and papist was touched off, I believe, by the celebration of the tercentenary of the introduction of the Bible into England in 1835.[5] Elie Halévy's postulation of the significance of the Methodist-Evangelical alliance should be underlined at this point, and I feel that Billington's *Protestant Crusade* and my own two articles on Evangelical Protestantism in Great Britain are helpful points of departure for the historian of ideas who will attempt to trace the progress of this struggle.[6] For the record it should be noted that

[3] Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1956), pp. 26-39; Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953), pp. 63-109.

[4] Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (December, 1957), 423-444.

[5] *Times*, September 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 24, 26, 28, October 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, November 18, 20, 23, 26, 1835; *Dublin Review*, II (December, 1836), 35-39, 45, 129-135, 159; (April, 1837), 330-336, 410-417, 499-539; *British Critic*, 4th Series, XVIII (October, 1835), 469-477.

[6] Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, 4 Vols. (New York, 1949), I, 590-591; Gilbert A. Cahill, "Irish Catholicism and English Toryism," *Review of Politics*, XIX (January, 1845), 62-77; "The Protestant Association and the Anti-Maynooth Agitation of 1845," *Catholic Historical Review*, XLIII (October, 1957), 273-308.

the formation of the American Protestant Association and the reappearance of the British Protestant Association took place within a few years of each other; that the themes of the "no-Popery" literature in England and in the United States were substantially the same; that the education and the slavery issues were simultaneously discussed in both countries; and that the Reverend Lyman Beecher, with a delegation of over fifty American Evangelical clergymen, attended the conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in 1846 in London. It is also significant that the executive committee of the British Protestant Association which staged the anti-Maynooth agitation of 1845 also manned the influential committees of the 1846 Evangelical Alliance Meeting and secured the conference's support of a resolution to counteract the efforts of "popery" and other forms of superstition and infidelity.[7] In view of these occurrences, it is not strange that in 1845 Orestes Brownson should have remarked "that the real objections of Nativists are rooted on a deeper level, not only opposition to foreigners as such, but in a religious tradition of opposition to a separate people who are deemed incapable in religious, political, and social duties, of fraternizing with their so-called 'American' fellow citizens."

Professor Higham has given us a sensitive and introspective portrayal of post-Civil War nativism. "Historical inquiry," he tells us, "advances not so much by reversal and disavowal as it does by a widening of focus." In line with this dictum he proclaims "the nativist theme, as defined, and developed to date, is imaginatively exhausted," suggests that research on the conflicts associated with foreign elements in American society should take a new line, and that scholars should make a fresh start from premises rather different from those that have shaped the studies of the last twenty years.

The contention that the historical writing on American nativism often reflected the point of view, the assumptions, and the attitudes of the 1930's is brilliantly argued. Equally well presented, it seems to me, is Mr. Higham's discussion of the historian's attitude to nativism as an "ism," ideology, the irrationality of prejudice, and its manipulation by propagandists. Convincing, too, is the argument that the point of view of the 1930's gave encouragement to a historical frame of reference which stressed subjective and irrational motives and seemed to indicate that nativism would not submit to effective analysis unless it

[7] *Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance* (London, 1847).

could be identified consistently as an idea and unless the strands of nativist ideology could be unraveled. This list of concurrences merely indicates how highly I regard Professor Higham as a historian of nativism. If time allowed I could document the numerous parallels between his and my own limited areas of research. But there is not, so I ask your indulgence to proceed to Professor Higham's new point of departure.

In what direction should the historian of nativism go at this point? It seems to me that the authors of these two papers are in large part in agreement on this question. Both call for a widening of focus; both feel that the problem from here on in is one of analysis and synthesis, an exercise in humility and patience, and to a certain degree a matter of trial and error. And both would seek aid from other disciplines. Father Barry would call in the theologian and philosopher, while Professor Higham would emphasize more certain aspects of the social process in which competition for status in a society featuring social mobility brings about changes in the social structure.

In his new approach Professor Higham has turned to the less spectacular but persistent contentions imbedded in the fabric of our social organization, the numerous sources of status rivalries—political, economic, religious, associational—which, arising from objective conditions, are part of the slow process of ethnic integration and which have shaped profoundly the course of our social development. This is undoubtedly an area which begs for increased historical attention and to which the historian of American nativism can bring a combination of perception and insight. In fact, the operation of the historian of nativism in this field may do much to prevent a swing to the writing of American history as conservative nationalist history. It should also be mentioned at this time that Professor Handlin's study on *Boston's Immigrants* is a classic study of this type,[8] and it should be recalled that Professor Billington's *Protestant Crusade* is an analysis of the historical process which goes considerably beyond the mere investigation of a number of nativist traditions.

I suppose it would be difficult to say to what the individual historian's loyalty is directed. High in his value system certainly would be integrity, and integrity in a professional sense demands that he look for the more complete explanation of the data which his research unearths. Awareness of the contradictions between his data and current and

[8] Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, 1941).

past interpretations drives him to seek better, in the sense of more total explanations. In my own research neither liberalism nor conservatism offered a consistent frame of reference for the presentation of my findings, for rather early I discovered that both Liberals and Conservatives used the anti-Catholic cry when they found it to their advantage. It struck me as well that historians do not write of French or German nativism but of French and German nationalism and that these two cultures, as was England's, were religious cultures before they became national cultures. These observations led me to attempt to interpret my findings in accordance with what for me became an expanding view of the British historical process. The starting point in this analysis is the free individual in a democratic society, which traditionally has viewed public opinion as a moral good. This individual is capable of dividing his loyalty and allegiance, is capable of base as well as idealistic action. In this type of society, it seems to me, we need the following kinds of information:

1) More precise information about the dynamics of nationalism, especially in times other than war and crisis and the relationship of nativism to nationalism.
2) More information about the relationship of liberalism and conservatism to both nativism and nationalism.
3) More information about the relationship of nativism to the political processes, especially at those times when changes in climate of opinion take place. That there are climates of opinion which affect even the writing of history is implicit in Professor Higham's paper.
4) More information about how the activities of economic, religious, and associational organizations produce tension and conflict, how tension results from the jostling which goes on between social groups—and how these kinds of tension affect the loyalties of individuals and the dynamics of political processes.
5) More information about how cultural presuppositions affect the individual's political, social, and religious behavior.

The papers of Father Barry and Professor Higham have contributed greatly to my knowledge of American nativism. I hope, in turn, that my few remarks may suggest areas for further exploration to the historians of the movement. As the result of this exchange of information, it is my belief that there will be plenty to keep us busy for the next few years.

Harpur College

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. Edited by F. L. Cross. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xix, 1492. $17.50.)

This volume, edited by the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford and Canon of Christ Church, is intended to serve as a comprehensive but concise work of reference on all aspects of Christianity, with emphasis on historical development. It contains some 6,000 articles ranging from four or five lines to 2,500 words in length, and nearly 4,500 short bibliographies. More than ninety scholars have contributed to the *Dictionary,* but all articles are unsigned. For the sake of securing a maximum of uniformity and of maintaining a strict proportion in length of articles, etc., it was decided from the outset that the editor should have a completely free hand in editing all contributions submitted, and that he would thus assume full responsibility for their final form. About half the articles were written by Professor Cross and his immediate associates or assistants—the Reverend H. J. Sutters, Miss Hilda C. Graef, and Miss Elizabeth A. Livingstone—and all the bibliographies were compiled by the editor and his assistants. Advice was sought and given by a number of specialists, among them Drs. F. M. Powicke, S. L. Greenslade, R. W. Hunt, Daniel Callus, O.P., G. R. Driver, and H. F. D. Sparks. A liberal use of cross-references has made it possible to cut repetition to a minimum and, at the same time, to give the reader maximum control of subject matter and bibliography. Bibliographies are furnished for about two-thirds of the articles. They are intended "to record the principal items of primary and permanent interest bearing on the subject of the entry." Hence they always include the original sources and those works that have played a significant role in the investigation of the given subject. Emphasis has been placed on the author, title, and date of first publication of scholarly works.

The editor and his assistants have performed their task with unusual conscientiousness and thoroughness. Readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW will be glad to know that the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines have been treated with commendable objectivity and accuracy. The *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* justifies fully the claim made in the advertising circular about its outstanding qualities. In printing, binding, and general format it maintains the best traditions of the Oxford University Press.

The editor is well aware that a work of this kind cannot be perfect, and he asks that readers be kind enough to call his attention to points needing correction. The reviewer, accordingly, offers the following constructive criticisms and suggestions based on a rapid perusal of the *Dictionary*.

The *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* should have been listed by name in the preface among reference works of special value. It is put to good use, however, in the bibliographies. Under "Allegory" one would expect more than the single reference to an old article by Geffcken. Under the articles "Ambrose" and "Athanasian Creed," the impression is given that there are good reasons for assigning the Athanasian Creed to Ambrose, but most scholars do not support Ambrosian authorship. The article "Americanism" reflects the erroneous information furnished by the standard European Catholic works of reference, despite the fact that several scholarly treatments of the subject have been published in this country during the past twenty-five years. It is a pleasure to note that a clear and accurate account of Americanism, with pertinent bibliography, has just appeared in the first volume of the new edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg im Br., 1957). An American scholar, Gustave Weigel, S.J., is the author. Even after making full allowance for the principles governing bibliography laid down in the preface, the bibliographies on "Alexandrian Theology" and "Antiochene Theology" must be characterized as inadequate. Under "Anglican Ordinations" special importance is attached to the consecrators of Archbishop Laud, but under "Laud" no information is given on his consecrators. Under "Archaeology, Christian," the *DACL* is listed as being in progress, although in the table of abbreviations it is correctly indicated that it was finished in 1953. No bibliography is furnished for "Astrology," although pertinent scholarly studies are available. In view of current discussion, reference should have been given in the article, "Augustine of Hippo, Rule of," to the important study by Dom C. Lambot in *Revue Bénédictine*, 53 (1941), 41-58. In the bibliography on "Bible," Dom B. Orchard et al., *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (1952), should have been included, and Robert-Tricot, *Initiation biblique*, should have been listed in the revised edition of 1948, of which there is an English translation with copious additions. Under "Bollandists," the *Analecta Bollandiana* has apparently been confused with the *Subsidia hagiographica*. In the article "De la Bigne," it might have been added that in the course of a hundred years his work became the *Maxima Bibliotheca* . . . in twenty-seven volumes (Lyons, 1677)—the edition that is usually employed and cited. Under "Etheria," reference should have been made also to the edition in *Sources chrétiennes* (Paris, 1948). Under "Exodus" it was surprising to read that "at present the most favored date is perhaps the beginning of the 15th century B.C."

At present, on the contrary, scholars are practically unanimous in assigning the Exodus to the thirteenth century B.C. The article "Higher Criticism," in view of the significant role of higher criticism in Biblical studies, is much too short (only eleven lines). The article "Itala" is too brief and the bibliography is quite out of date. Its defects, however, are made up in large part by the article "Old Latin Versions." The article "Middle Ages" is inadequate and the bibliographical reference deals only with the history of the term *medium aevum*, etc. Under "Modernism" (lower lefthand column), an asterisk should be added on M. Blondel, as he is treated in a separate article in the *Dictionary*. A few basic references at least should have been given at the end of the article "Oecumenical Councils." To the bibliography on "Patrick, St.," should be added L. Bieler, *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1949). The article *"Ratio studiorum"* is inadequate in itself and no bibliography is given. Under "Seminary," it might have been added that an Englishman, Cardinal Pole, in 1556 was apparently the first to use the term "seminary" in the modern sense, i.e., to signify a school entirely devoted to the training of the clergy. The article "Seven Liberal Arts" is too short and it should have been furnished with a bibliography. In the article "Theodosian Code," specific mention should have been made of the *Constitutiones Sirmondianae* which concern ecclesiastical matters and were added as an appendix to the Theodosian Code after they were published by Sirmond in 1631. [Cf. F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford, 1946), 314-316.] John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (2 vols., Milwaukee, 1952), should be added to the bibliography on "United States of America, Christianity in." The article "Theology" is much too brief (less than half a column) and no bibliography is given. In the bibliography on "Vulgate," references to Robert-Tricot, *Guide to the Bible* (Tournai, 1951), I, 412-429, should be added. It is a later and fuller treatment than that contained in Stummer's article in the *LThK* which is listed.

Missing articles: Americans will miss articles on Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland. In view of the names included, one might likewise expect articles on Ignatius of Constantinople, Johannes Janssen (there are good articles on Denifle and Pastor), Eduard Meyer, Paulinus of Milan, and Quodvultdeus of Carthage. An article on history, or at least on church history, would certainly be desirable. There are articles on Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek, but none on Latin, despite the significant role of Latin in the western Church. It may be noted, too, that there is no article on liturgical languages, nor is there any article on periodicals or periodical literature. There are a few short articles on individual journals which simply emphasize strange omissions. Thus there are articles on the *Analecta Bollandiana, Revue Bénédictine, Revue biblique,* and *Theologische*

Literaturzeitung, but none on the *Journal of Theological Studies* or the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique.* Finally, an article on universities and their role in the history of the Church would be desirable. The Catholic University of America forms the subject of a short article, but other universities receive only incidental treatment in articles on cities or regions.

Misprints: The Oxford University Press has maintained its high standard of accuracy. Only the following slips have been noted. Under "Americanism," for O. Gibbons write J. Gibbons. In the bibliography on "Cardinal," for Knutter write Kuttner. In the bibliography on "Carroll, John," for J. R. Purcell write R. J. Purcell. There is a garbled spelling in the lemma "Diocletianic Era." At the end of the bibliography on "Greek (Biblical and Patristic)," for Vergate read Vergote. In the last line of the lefthand column on page 867, the final "l" of Biblical has dropped out. All these criticisms are minor. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* is an outstanding work of reference, brief but comprehensive, scholarly, accurate, and up-to-date.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

History of the Catholic Church. By Thomas P. Neill and Raymond H. Schmandt. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1957. Pp. xx, 684. $6.50.)

This textbook history of the Church is something that has been sorely needed. It is needed insofar as it is a textbook, a one-volume work, and reliable history. To concentrate first on the textbook features, the work recommends itself by the attractive printing, the bold-face topical headings, the questions in the "review aids" sections, the suggestions for further reading, the excerpts from the sources, the photographs, and the maps. Pedogogically, everything is here to lead the students and readers on to an expertly handled subject. The work is divided into two parts: Part One covers the Church's story from the beginning up to the Protestant Revolt; Part Two carries the history into the reign of Pope Pius XII. Looking over the book as a whole, one can say that it is interestingly written, factually accurate, and judiciously interpretative. In this it differs from others that are a lifeless listing of facts. Proportionately, the period from Luther to the present time takes up a little more than half of the volume (pp. 303-657). This section of the history is stronger. Incidentally, some of the digests of contemporary trends are admirable. In this part of the work the authors have done their best to present the history of the Church in the United States as part of the history of the Universal Church.

It would be wrong to insinuate that the ancient and mediaeval periods are poorly handled. What is there is good. However, it is difficult to present these centuries in c. 300 pages. The lack of space undoubtedly accounts for omissions and skimpy treatments, e.g., very little is said about Islam, and the treatment of the Inquisition and of the *Devotio Moderna* is woefully brief and disappointing. A list of the ecumenical councils, of the popes, a selected bibliography, and an adequate index are also provided. In its present form this book, factual and interpretative, is the best extant one-volume history of the Church in English. It is the hope of this reviewer that the authors will continue to work on it and that it will see many editions—not mere reprintings—until at long last we will have the ideal textbook for the history of the Church.

ALFRED C. RUSH

The Catholic University of America

Twenty Centuries of Church and State. A Survey of Their Relations in Past and Present. By Sidney Z. Ehler. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 160. $1.95.)

In an address delivered in 1939 to a group of Roman seminarians Pope Pius XII emphasized the fact that the student of church history must not be solely concerned with purely critical and apologetical questions, but must, among other things, apprise himself of "what conditions have been profitable, which less profitable for the Church in her dealings with governments," and of "how much the Church can yield to the state, and in what matters she must remain firm." (*Discorsi e radiomessaggi*, I, 215.) As if in answer to this challenge, Dr. Ehler in collaboration with Dr. John B. Morrall—both members of the staff of University College, Dublin—published four years ago a well selected collection of original documents relating to the question of Church and State and extending from the days of the totalitarian state's waning in Rome to those of its waxing in Moscow, *Church and State Through the Centuries* (Westminster, 1954). It clearly was a work designed to aid the professional historian or others well-versed in the field of Church and State by rendering in the vernacular source material from many different languages.

The present study, on the other hand, although it covers the same ground, is much more elemental and much broader in its scope and appeal. It pretends only to introduce the student of political science or history, as well as the general reading public, to the complicated problem of the proper relationship between the two perfect societies in their dealings with their common subject, the Christian citizen. Its approach to the question is not

theoretical, conceptual or juridic, but concrete, existential, historical. Leaving to theologians and legalists the evaluation and application of the axioms of *rapport* elaborated in the various schools of thought on the matter, and to the historionomers the assorted etiological factors involved in the various phenomena he considers, the author contents himself with a straightforward and, in general, remarkably accurate presentation of fact. He intends only to survey the actual dealings the Church has had with various states during the twenty centuries of her existence, and in that aim he succeeds. His work is characterized by its impartiality, *Voraussetzungslosigkeit*, and the complete absence of what so often mars a work of this kind, viz., a *bête noire*. One regrets the use at times of such imprecise clichés as "only a few decades after Christianity had emerged from the catacombs" (p. 15)—as if the catacombs were hiding places instead of burial places—and of vague, generalized conclusions like "Ever since the great Arian heresy of the fourth century it became a sort of rule tacitly agreed upon in the East, that the Emperor was the last authority in religious matters" (p. 12)—as though, e.g., the Council of Chalcedon had not acknowledged the supreme doctrinal authority of Leo, etc.

Whatever its defects, however, the book does much to instance the words of the Holy Father addressed to the delegates to the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in September, 1955:

> The historian should not forget that if Church and state have experienced times of conflict, there have also been from the days of Constantine the Great to the present era and even in recent times rather long periods of peace during which they have worked together in complete harmony for the betterment of their common charge. The Church does not hide the fact that in principle she considers such collaboration normal, and regards as an ideal both the unity of all people in the true religion and unanimity of action between herself and the state. (*Discorsi e radiomessaggi*, XVII, 218).

CHARLES R. MEYER

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The Early Christian Church. By Philip Carrington. Two Volumes. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 519; xii, 518. $17.50.)

Basing their labors on the incredible amount of studies devoted to the early Church during the past century, scholars of mentalities as diverse as Harnack and Duchesne, Lebreton and Lietzmann, have attempted to weld

into a consecutive whole the enormous mass of material that records and evaluates, despite considerable gaps in our knowledge, the mission and expansion of Christianity during the first three centuries. The result is a picture that emerges with considerable clarity of the formation of the early Christian communities—their manner of assembly and prayer, their interests and way of life—as well as of the gradual evolution of a body of government, and of a complex of doctrines that, with Constantine, suddenly confront the consciousness of the whole Roman Empire.

It is this panorama that the Protestant Archbishop of Quebec, Philip Carrington, attempts to trace in his handsomely produced two-volume work on the early Christian Church. Obviously the labor of a mellowed churchman, the book has the virtues and vices of one who though a "master in Israel" has passed the peak of his creative powers. There is an expansive quality in the volumes that gives the reader a sense of the grandeur of the enterprise; but, unfortunately, there is also a looseness of organization that engenders the impression of an amassing of notes and reminiscences, for the most part precise and authentic, but which were only leisurely collected, mulled over, and strewn together. This method obviously does not lend itself to the true unity of construction—and, therefore, of art—that one would hope for in the hands of a well seasoned historian. It may be objected that the very nature of our knowledge of the early Church is episodic in character—and that too rigid organization will produce an artificially arranged structure that does not reflect the undulating character of the development of early Christianity. While there is merit in this observation, it still does not provide sufficient excuse for needless repetitions, unnecessarily abrupt characterizations, and a generally muddled conglomeration of episodes, facts, and fancies, that make up much of the work.

What is particularly annoying in this attempt to portray the early Church in every facet of its development is the failure to distinguish the true line of evolution of the essentials in the budding Church. Instead, the facts of the story are jumbled together with the fictional excrescences playing on the periphery, resulting, it is true, in a much better appreciation of the confusion introduced into the early Christian consciousness by such heresies as ebionitism and docetism, but which does an injustice to the true line of doctrinal and jurisdictional development exemplified in Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp, Irenaeus, and the occupants of the See of Rome from Xystus and Hyginus to Callistus and Pontianus.

One telling point the author does make in his preface that has considerable bearing on modern methodology. Recalling his own experience in delving into the history of the Protestant Diocese of Quebec, whose first bishop dates from 1793, the author states:

Fifty years is as nothing; there are always people who clearly remember the important facts; at one anniversary we had present with us the clergymen and one warden who had held office fifty years before. Statements about eighty years ago are reliable; false statements made at a church gathering would be promptly corrected. In connexion with the origins of a church, some facts from a hundred years ago are reliable. The names of bishops or leading clergymen could easily be obtained without recourse to written documents.

Applied to the history of the early Church, the conclusion is obvious: statements recorded of responsible ecclesiastical leaders of the first and second century, or preserved in official or personal tradition, are worthy of much more credence than it has been customary to accord them in recent scholarly enterprise. Applying this principle to the search for the author of the Fourth Gospel, and of the Apocalypse, the author opts for St. John, the beloved disciple, as responsible for both works (I, 294 ff., 363 ff.), discarding theories of the "two Johns" as fanciful. He is likewise clear and straightforward in dealing with the "divine mission and authority of the original apostolate as it is reflected in the Church at the close of the first century"; and in his appreciation of the fact that the appointment of bishops and deacons came as part of the mission from Christ and from God. He gives long and appropriate quotations from all the early literature. And he incorporates more than a sufficiency of the political and social history of the period.

The story, though primarily concerned with the first two centuries, is carried down to the emergence of Constantine. But this is a mistake as the events of the third century are not given their proper evaluation. But what is most unfortunate about these two volumes is the lack of orderly organization. The books have a large number of magnificent illustrations, but they are scattered throughout with little if any bearing on the immediate text. There are a number of informative and useful tables, mainly chronological, but they are haphazardly introduced at the beginning or in the midst of chapters, again with but little relevance to the matter in hand. Finally, though considerable attention is given to liturgical data and development, almost no indication is made of the increasing information contributed to our understanding of the early Church by archaeological finds. The Qumran documents, e.g., are mentioned; the excavations under St. Peter's are referred to; but no attempt is made properly to evaluate either of these discoveries. The bibliography is hardly of useful construction; there are no footnotes; but each volume contains an excellent index. This is a useful commentary on the history of the early Church, apt for leisurely reading. It is hardly the artful production of which modern scholarship wed to literary competence is capable.

FRANCIS X. MURPHY

Fort Hamilton, New York

The Holy Fire. The Story of the Fathers of the Eastern Church. By Robert Payne. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1957. Pp. xxii, 313. $5.00.)

Man has a way of achieving the local and the provincial. What is familiar to him is that which is important and enduring. It is useful, therefore, to turn to the early days of the Church in the East when the world was newer, men's ideals somewhat different, and conditions of everyday life varied greatly from those of our modern mechanized civilization. Mr. Payne, who is a novelist and popular author and who has also written a book on the fathers of the western Church which appeared in 1951, has tried to convey some of the intensity and excitement of the progress of Christianity in the early days of the Church in the Greek-speaking East. After an introduction and a chapter on the forerunners, which oddly does not mention Irenaeus, Mr. Payne in biographies of the Greek Fathers and ecclesiastical writers beginning with Clement of Alexandria and reaching Gregory Palamas endeavors to bring out the peculiar characteristics and virtues of early Greek-speaking Christianity. The mysticism, intense love of God, sense of the divine, serenity, joy, and love of argument of the early Greek writers is well emphasized. The short lives abound with extensive quotations from the authors themselves and in these quotations the author reveals a high regard for religion, literature, and the Greek language. He writes with verve and enthusiasm and his book will be a pleasant, interesting introduction for the general reader to the lives and writings of some of the prominent writers of Greek-speaking Christianity. The religious lives, the characters of the men, the circumstances of the times all stand out vividly in Mr. Payne's account and it should be acknowledged that he has largely succeeded in what he set out to do.

However, Mr. Payne, who is well read and well informed, suffers from a dislike for accurate scholarship, most of all, apparently, for accurate historical scholarship. E.g., he says: "In the following pages I have endeavored to show the Fathers against the background of their times. I have attempted to show them as dramatic characters in the long drama of Christianity, and to strip them of the pedantry which is too often associated with the examination of Christian origins" (p. xxx). This attitude may lend vigor and enthusiasm to the narrative but it also produces odd historical statements such as the one which asserts that "the greatest age of the Eastern Fathers was crammed into a single generation." This statement includes explicitly Antony, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen to which are added Ambrose and Augustine, a catalogue which embraces men who were active over a period of four or five generations. The same rather cavalier attitude toward time is involved in the account of the Council of Nicaea where the statement is made that there were five separate accounts of the council by eyewitnesses and

"eight more accounts written by historians of the generation immediately following Nicaea." Attentive readers will find that on page 68 Athanasius was born about 293 A.D. and that on page 69 in 318 A.D. he was still under twenty, a confusion which persists in different forms throughout the narrative.

There are other inaccuracies which would indicate that historical students should use the book with caution. It is vivid and interesting, however, and is accompanied by a chronological table, a selective bibliography, and an index. The general reader will learn much that is instructive and interesting about great men and a great period in the history of the Church and, doubtless, will not worry much about "the pedantry" of historical accuracy.

CHARLES P. LOUGHRAN

Fordham University

English Church Plate, 597-1830. By Charles Oman. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxx, 558. 200 illustrations. $20.20.)

This is a book which has been long needed, being the first work of its kind to cover the subject of English church plate in general. Sir Charles Oman, who has written learnedly and interestingly on the subject of mediaeval castles and abbeys, has not confined himself to a merely archeological discussion of existing examples of old church plate, but has, as he explains in his preface, aimed at trying "to describe the part which church plate has played in the national life." His book, therefore, will be of interest to the historian as well as to the antiquarian. The author is well qualified to fulfill this aim, being a scholar in the field of history as well as keeper of the department of metalwork in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The book, a quarto volume bound in blue buckram, has in all 558 pages, of which 290 are devoted to the text. The 200 plates contain about 346 separate illustrations, photographs of chalices, patens, pyxes, ciboria, monstrances, candlesticks, thuribles, communion cups, alms basins, and other vessels for liturgical use. Included also are a few bibles with ornamental metalwork covers, but the author has excluded from the scope of his work such objects as croziers and mitres as being insignia of office and not directly connected with the service of the altar. The earliest example of church plate illustrated is the Trewhiddle Chalice, now in the British Museum, which dates from the second half of the ninth century. Besides the usual table of contents, the volume carries a list of plates, a bibliography, an index of persons and subjects, and five appendices. These last include a list of mediaeval chalices and patens, a list of Edwardian

communion cups, an account of the distribution of communion cups and paten-covers by the goldsmiths, a list of Anglican seventeenth-century gothic chalices, and a list of identifiable goldsmiths who worked for the "recusants" between 1558 and 1697.

Sir Charles Oman begins his story of English church plate with the arrival in Kent in 597 of the monks sent from Italy by Pope St. Gregory the Great under the leadership of St. Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons, at which date, as he points out, the native English craftsmen were already producing work of high artistic merit in the precious metals. The account of how this native skill was turned to the uses of Christian worship, the long chronicle of the relations between craftsman and patron, royal or ecclesiastic, and the description of the changes wrought by royal spoliation and the introduction of new liturgical customs makes fascinating reading, as well as affording a narrative full of instruction. Part One is devoted to the Catholic Middle Ages, Part Two deals with royal patronage and spoliation, while Part Three is given to a discussion of church plate in the period between the introduction of Protestantism and the first half of the nineteenth century.

WILLIAM WILFRID BAYNE

Portsmouth Priory School

Cathedral and Crusade. Studies of the Medieval Church, 1050-1350. By Henri Daniel-Rops. Translated by John Warrington. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. 1957. Pp. xi, 622. $10.00.)

The prolific and diverse writings of M. Daniel-Rops, of the French Academy, have made his name known among a constantly widening circle of friends during the past quarter century. In addition to his work on French films and the editorship of a review, he has written novels, essays on philosophical thought, the liturgy, Sacred Scripture, the life of Christ and, between 1948 and 1955, has published four volumes of his *Histoire de l'Eglise du Christ.* The third volume of this series, the first to appear in English translation, is the subject of this review. Properly entitled "Studies," the work does not pretend to be a chronological history of the period and, hence, gives unequal attention to equally significant characters in this drama of what we call the High Middle Ages. Fascinating chapters on the crusades, cathedrals, St. Bernard, reform, Church-State relationships, the Byzantine Church, the universities, the missions, heresy, and the end of the mediaeval dream adumbrate many facets of this period which are little known or appreciated. One might be critical of inaccuracies of fact and interpretation, one might note that the work is rather "French-

centered," and one might deplore that fact that, in the face of past criticisms, the author takes a defensive attitude in his treatment of St. Bernard and of other topics. But one cannot deny that the book is a good popular treatment of the period for the lay reader and one could be so impudent as to suggest that the non-Catholic American professional mediaevalist could read the French edition with profit.

The translation is singularly infelicitous. Of minor import are a few gauche renderings of the English tongue in an otherwise readable book. Of more importance is lack of familiarity with the material, e.g., the correct "Thomas Becket" of the French is always translated "Thomas à Becket." Much more substantive and serious is the question of how much liberty a translator is allowed with his text and/or how much of an obligation the publisher has of informing the reader of these liberties and limitations. A publisher's note announces the omission of the bibliography (mostly French) and of footnote references to Volumes I and II. We are not forewarned that sentences are omitted which in the original made the author's meaning more clear. Nor are we informed that phrases and sentences have been added to the body of the text without the least indication that these are interpolations. The result is that no prudent man can attribute to M. Daniel-Rops one sentence from this English translation without consulting the original text. For a merely popular narrative the price is rather high.

HENRY A. CALLAHAN

Boston College

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters, Volume XIII, *1471-1484.* Two Parts. Prepared by J. A. Twemlow. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1955. Pp. xvi, 470; 471-1268. Part I 84s; Part II 147s.)

It is many, many years, indeed, since these two great volumes were compiled. Their late appearance in print is a reminder that government's interest in scholarship—in the scholarly study of the national past, at least—has been stricken near to death by the social disasters of 1914-1956. That they are at last published, forty years later, and under the competent care of Father Urban Flanagan, O.P., now commissioned to continue the series, we may, perhaps, take as auguring a brighter age.

In this Volume XIII are recorded, in greater or less detail, some thousands of acts of papal jurisdiction done during the thirteen years of the reign of Sixtus IV, 1471-1484 (Francesco della Rovere) in England and Wales, in Ireland, and in the then wholly independent Kingdom of Scotland. The bulk of these documents concern papal presentations to benefices.

Since these are, invariably, of one or other of several standardized types, and since no comment is possible on the accuracy with which the simple task of translation and summary has been accomplished, it is hard to see what a reviewer can do beyond the usual practice of recording that yet another volume of the great series is now available. Nevertheless, by taking a given year of the pontificate, as a specimen of the papal activity in the three kingdoms, who knows but that some *agni novelli* may be incited to look for themes in these vast, all but unstudied, repertoires? Themes? nay even theses.

Let us take a year about half way through the reign, and see what, in the British Isles, occupied the attention of the first della Rovere pope in the year of the Pazzi conspiracy, 1478, the year in which Thomas More was born. For this year there are something like 181 documents in all, if I have counted right—the documents, alas, are not numbered. Of the 181, England and Wales claim 120, Ireland thirty-five, Scotland twenty-six—the England of Edward IV, the Scotland of James III. Papal presentations to secular benefices—to canonries, parishes, etc., confirmations of these, mandates to collate, number in all thirty-one; to Ireland sixteen, to Scotland fifteen, to England not one. In Ireland there are twenty-five appointments to local prelates to judge in the pope's name disputes about presentations, in seven cases to the headship of a monastery. In Scotland—what was its population in 1478? half a million?—there are only three disputes to be settled. All the papal collations in Scotland in 1478 are to secular benefices. Only in Ireland are there, in this year, collations to monastic benefices. The total of papal interventions, in this business of presentations, for the whole thirteen years of Sixtus IV is 515, of which seventy-seven are to monasteries. Of the 438 that concern secular benefices, ten relate to England, 106 to Scotland, and 322 to Ireland. Another interesting difference in the presentations for 1478 is in the normal patronage of these secular benefices to which Pope Sixtus is presenting the enterprising clerics who have managed to make a contact with the Roman Curia. In Ireland five only of the sixteen patrons are laymen, in Scotland only one. Collations from Rome to secular benefices where the patron is a layman total, for the whole reign, fifty in Ireland; in Scotland they are eleven, in England one.

As to dispensations, in 1478. There are forty-five for England to hold more than one benefice, three of the same to Ireland, and five to Scotland. There are twenty-seven to allow an English regular to hold a secular benefice. There is a total of eleven allowing clerics below the canonical age to hold benefices, of which nine are to Englishmen, one of them a brother of Edward IV's consort, another a kinsman of the king; only three are commoners. There are sixteen cases of legitimation in order

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that the petitioners may be ordained and hold benefices: one in England, three in Scotland, and twelve in Ireland. The three Scots are the sons of clerics, and of the twelve Irish petitioners eight are similarly situated, two of them children of abbots and one of a bishop. There are provisions of various clerics to sees in all three countries, and, the most spectacular event of the year, the pope deprives the Primate of Scotland of his See of St. Andrews. Add to this list a number of marriage cases, and who shall say that in these 915 papers, equipped with elaborate indices running to another 350 pages, there is not enough to stimulate a whole legion of the necessitous in search of raw material for the all-important "original contribution to knowledge."

PHILIP HUGHES

University of Notre Dame

Naked to Mine Enemies. The Life of Cardinal Wolsey. By Charles W. Ferguson. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1957. Pp. 543. $6.00.)

The career of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York, legate *a latere* of Holy Church, and Chancellor of England, might seem to have been unduly neglected by the dramatists. His tragic career seems a perfect parable of worldliness; and its close prompted the famous lines, which provide a title for this new biography; they are commonly ascribed to William Shakespeare and are based on Wolsey's own words on his deathbed: "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies." (*King Henry VIII,* Act III, Scene 2.) Mr. Ferguson's new life of Wolsey is essentially a rewriting in a picturesque way of the accepted version of the life of the cardinal. The author is senior editor of the *Reader's Digest.* Although his professional literary experience must obviously be very great, he has used an ambitious prose style, some of the jewelled phrases of which will not delight every taste. Nevertheless, this is a sympathetic and dramatic portrait of one of the great figures of English history told with a fullness of detail, a proper sense of the period, and an urbanity of comment. It is a long life providing both entertainment and instruction about a Cardinal Archbishop of York, who combined greater ecclesiastical and civil power in England than any other man had hitherto done, whose very supremacy in Church and State influenced Henry VIII's seizure of the headship of the English Church, who made great efforts to become pope, and whose whole career was such as to give him the title, among Europeans, of the originator of the schism in the English Church.

Much work, however, still remains to be done on the life of Thomas Wolsey. There is room for detailed studies of his career as a churchman,

and as chancellor in the courts of Chancery and the Star Chamber. Large accumulations of documents for these studies await the research scholar equipped with a knowledge of canon and civil law and with a scholarly industriousness. It was in the courts that the cardinal spent a very great deal of his time and through them that he won a notable popularity. Without a greater acquaintance with his judicial work than is at present possible, therefore, his biographer must always be at a disadvantage. Instead of providing a bibliography Mr. Ferguson refers the reader to Professor Conyers Read's *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485-1603.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.) It is possible, however, from the author's "Reference Notes" at the end of the book to get an idea of the books he relied on. Surprisingly there are no references to Pastor's *History of the Popes.* These "Reference Notes" are a nuisance to use, since they are not at the foot of the page they concern nor are they listed according to the book's pagination. There is one illustration and an index.

ERIC MCDERMOTT

Georgetown University

A History of the Council of Trent. Volume I. By Hubert Jedin. Translated by Ernest Graf. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1957. Pp. xi, 618. $15.00.)

The original German edition of Monsignor Jedin's *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* was published in 1949 (cf. this REVIEW, XXXVIII [April, 1952], 39-42), and was generally welcomed as a most significant contribution to the study of church history. It is, indeed, a superlative work and the appearance of an English translation provides an occasion to remind readers of its scope and of some of its excellences.

The author has undertaken to write "the first comprehensive work on the Council of Trent for some three hundred years that sets out to be a work of history and not of religious propaganda on one side or the other." It is to be completed in eight books of which the first two are translated in the present volume. They carry the story only to the opening of the council; the six books to come will deal with the sessions of the council itself and with the impact of the Tridentine legislation on the life of the Church. The first book is a review of the conciliar tradition in the Church from mid-fourteenth century to the eve of Luther's revolt. Monsignor Jedin claims and abundantly demonstrates that the events leading up to Trent itself can only be understood when they are set in this historical context. The second book covers the years 1517-1545 and deals with the papal reaction to Luther's challenge and with the complex diplomatic maneuverings that at last led to the brief of December 11, 1545, which

formally inaugurated the sessions at Trent. The problem to which the author particularly addresses himself is indicated in the title of the second book, "Why so Late?" Why was the convoking of the council so long delayed? The answer emerges clearly enough from the preceding historical analysis. In the later Middle Ages support for a reform of ecclesiastical life through the agency of a general council had become inextricably entangled with attacks on the doctrine of papal sovereignty within the Church. Meanwhile, especially during the Council of Basle, secular rulers had discovered that the mere threat of supporting conciliar movements was a most effective weapon in winning concessions from the papacy. Hence, in the years when the Lutheran schism was deepening, the popes were utterly averse to the whole idea of summoning a general council to cope with the situation, while secular princes were long practiced in cynically manipulating conciliar aspirations for their own narrow purposes. Above all the author emphasizes the tendency of ecclesiastical and secular statesmen alike "to stick to the obsolete track of Renaissance politics," their failure to grasp that a radically new situation was being created by the events in Germany.

This is one of those rich books which will provide stimulus and new insights for several different kinds of specialists. It has been so much praised for its "impartiality" that it is as well, perhaps, to make clear that it is written from a clearly defined theological standpoint. The point is that the author does not allow his theological presuppositions to influence his historical judgments on personalities and motives. He shows sympathy with the aspirations of conciliarists who were genuinely concerned to reform the state of the Chuch even though he recognizes that they were doctrinally at fault. On the other hand, he has sharp words for those Renaissance pontiffs who, while formally adhering to the orthodox doctrine of papal power, used that doctrine in practice only to defend a crudely arbitrary and selfish form of personal despotism. "Flowers do not bloom in the shadow of an ecclesiastical dictatorship," he reminds us. The essence of Monsignor Jedin's achievement is his ability to weave together the threads of intellectual history, diplomatic history, and institutional history into a harmonious and satisfying pattern. It is rather easy to spin out theories about the influence of ideas or of personalities or of material circumstances in historical causation. It is extraordinarily difficult actually to write a piece of history in which all the factors are taken into account and their interplay judiciously traced in the progress of some great sequence of events. Indeed, that is the highest task that a historian *qua* historian can set himself. Monsignor Jedin's completed study promises to be one of the great historical works of our generation.

It is good to be able to add that the translation is worthy of the original. Dom Graf's version reads like a work originally conceived in English;

and the publisher is especially to be commended for permitting all the invaluable scholarly apparatus (which so often tends to vanish in translations) to be retained. The footnotes even appear at the foot of each page. The volume is handsomely produced and there are eight illustrations.

BRIAN TIERNEY

The Catholic University of America

Estudios Ignacianos. By Pedro de Leturia, S.J. Revisados por el P. Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J. Volume I, *Estudios Biograficos;* II, *Estudios Espirituales.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu. Pp. xxxii, 475; viii, 544. $8.00.)

Estudios Ignacianos, which constitutes Volumes X-XI of the Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Jesu, maintains the same high level which has characterized the other volumes of this series. The author, Father Pedro de Leturia, organized the faculty of ecclesiastical history at the Gregorian University in Rome, and for more than twenty years served as its dean. He was the first director of the Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu and from 1931 to 1947 supervised the publication of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu.* His study of the early life of St. Ignatius, *El gentilhombre Iñigo López de Loyola en su patria y en su siglo,* which was first published in 1938, is considered a landmark in Ignatian biography. His first article on the life of the founder of the society was published in 1921, the year that Father Leturia was ordained. By 1955, the year of his death, his Ignatian writings had numbered more than seventy items.

The studies under review were originally planned as commemorative volumes to mark the fourth centenary of the death of St. Ignatius. When Father Leturia's ill health made the completion of a full-length biography impossible, he decided to prepare a collection of his published articles covering that period of the saint's life not dealt with in *El gentilhombre.* While engaged in this task he was called to his eternal reward, and Father Ignacio Iparraguirre, the author's onetime student and later collaborator, completed the editing of the collection and saw it through publication. The reader will not find in this work reports of fresh research or recent biographical investigation. All but one of the articles included have previously appeared in such reputable publications as *Razon y Fe, La Civiltà Catolica, Ecclesia,* and *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu.* Nor will he find a complete, systematic treatment of either the life of St. Ignatius or Ignatian spirituality. Perhaps, these volumes may properly be described as an anthology of Father Leturia's best Ignatian writings.

The twenty-one biographical essays contained in the first volume are especially noteworthy for their penetrating examination of the environ-

mental factors which had a part in determining the external events of St. Ignatius' life and the internal evolution of his spirit. Father Leturia stresses the point that the founder of the society was a sixteenth-century Spanish grandee; that he was actually part of and truly belonged to his own age, his own nation, his own social class. The reader is made vividly aware of the actual medium in which the saint lived, worked, and prayed, and this awareness enables him better to observe and to appreciate the marvelous and mysterious process of the supernatural building upon the natural. Another biographical skill in which the author of *Estudios Ignacianos* excelled was the ability to discern the inner soul of his subject; to feel his fears, his joys, his doubts; to comprehend his reasonings; to grasp the ultimate sources of his motivation. It is significant that Father Leturia's first published Ignatian article was entitled "De Don Iñigo a San Ignacio. Ensayo de psicología sobrenatural."

The second volume, *Estudios Espirituales,* divides its nineteen articles into three parts. The first deals with the *Spiritual Exercises,* special attention being given to the very interesting problem of the genesis of that famous work. "Espiritualidad ignaciana" is the title given to part two, which traces the development in the society of that systematized spirituality which is so distinctive a feature of the ascetical teaching of St. Ignatius. Methodized prayer, planned spiritual reading, and regularized examen, as practiced in the Jesuit colleges of the sixteenth century, are among the topics discussed. Under the heading of "Varia," part three groups seven articles, a radio address, and six book reviews.

It has been said that St. Ignatius lived the *Exercises* before he wrote them. Father Leturia seems to have lived them before he wrote about them. How else could he have gained so penetrating an insight into the soul of their author? Future biographers of St. Ignatius have a rich source of information and inspiration in *Estudios Ignacionos.*

CYPRIAN J. LYNCH

St. Joseph's Seminary
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Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O.S.A. (1507-1584): A Study of His Life and His Contribution to the Religious and Intellectual Affairs of Early Mexico. By Arthur Ennis, O.S.A. [Offprint from *Augustiniana,* Vols. V-VIII (1955-1957.)] (Louvain: Imprimerie E. Warny. 1957. Pp. viii, 210.)

Alonso de la Vera Cruz is a famous name in the history of the "spiritual conquest" which accompanied and completed the military conquest of Mexico. He arrived in 1536. A graduate and former professor of Salamanca, his learning won him high renown. Tradition names him as the

founder of the University of Mexico, and he served on its first faculty. His writings commanded attention. He received two offers of bishoprics, both of which he declined. He was chosen five times to lead his fellow Augustinians in Mexico. A man of such stature obviously deserves a biography. Indeed, the chief fault of the present work is that attention is focussed so inevitably on the man that the historical background is somewhat neglected. The effect, ironically enough, is to rob the man himself of his full significance. As superior of the Augustinians, Vera Cruz was involved in the jurisdictional disputes between the Spanish provincial and the Augustinian general, and between the regular orders and the bishops of New Spain. These conflicts were of enormous importance. They were intimately bound up with the royal patronate which produced some of them directly, and, in any case, assumed control over them. The solutions reached were to affect profoundly the future history of the Church in the Spanish Empire. If this work is to be expanded into a full-scale biography, these interesting interactions should be more thoroughly explored to illuminate the framework of institutional controls which royal policy was then imposing upon the Church. May this reviewer express the hope that the author will undertake a full life-and-times biography?

Another matter deserving fuller treatment is the relationship of the Augustinians to the general problem of *encomiendas*. In this connection the exchange of letters between the Mexican Augustinians and their Spanish provincial, which the author refers to, poses an interesting problem. The dates of these letters, 1549 and 1550, suggest that the *encomienda* of Tezcoco was still being held at that time—this, despite the fact that all such grants were cancelled by the New Laws of 1542. Simpson, incidentally, finds Tezcoco listed as a crown town in a *Suma de Visitas* of c. 1544. One other minor point may be noted. The regulars needed royal approval for the founding of churches and monasteries, not only because the king had to underwrite the expenses, but also because Pope Julius II had clothed the king with specific authority in this matter through the bull, *Universalis Ecclesiae*, of July 28, 1508, which established the *jus patronatus*.

It should be made clear that the author intended the present work as a study, and not as a comprehensive biography. Within these limits, the book is impressive; nor is it by any means a mere filiopietistic tribute. It is solidly grounded on Grijalva's seventeenth-century *Crónica*, and makes use of much new material from archives in Rome, Paris, and Spain. The evidence is shrewdly analyzed, and the evaluations are judicious. The work represents a scholarly contribution that is both interesting and valuable.

EDWIN A. BEILHARZ

University of Santa Clara

Saint John of the Cross. By Father Bruno de Jesús-Marie, O.D.C. With an introduction by Jacques Maritain. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1957. Pp. xxxii, 495. $6.00.)

At the time when this book was written in French and translated into English about 1932, it was undoubtedly the best thing on its subject. Indeed, that the author should have been able to produce so learned and accurate an account of so intricate a subject when the material was still only in manuscript is proof enough that here at that time was a most scholarly work. All that has come since confirms what Father Bruno discovered and described. Since the date of this book's publication in England much further work, however, has been done. Father Silverio de Santa Teresa has completed the editing of the works of Saint John of the Cross and, more important for the purposes of the life, has published the *procesos* of the beatification and canonization of the saint. In 1945 appeared the scholarly *Vida y Obras completas de San Juan de la Cruz* of the great Sanjuanista, P. Crisólogo de Jesús, O.D.C., who died before the work was published. This life and this edition of the works—but particularly the life—all in one volume, in the B.A.C. series, is undoubtedly now the most thorough and documented life of Saint John. One must, therefore, state that Father Bruno's life is somewhat dated. In spite of this his work remains accurate and instructive. It is almost ungenerous to criticize so masterly and painstaking a work.

We are given a careful account of the early years of the saint and some account of the time he passed in Salamanca as a student. The story of the quarrels within the Carmelite Order over the reforms, initiated by Saint Teresa and Saint John, is told with calm and in detail. It would be well to read the postscript of Father Benedict Zimmerman, O.D.C. (pp. 361 ff.), before launching out on a reading of the text. The later years of the saint are described with loving insight. The marvellous patience of Saint John and his sheer physical courage are abundantly shown in those terrible and glorious months before his death. We are given a rounded picture of the religious setting of the period: the multitudes of hermits on the high plain of Castille, the interference of Philip II in religious matters, the friendship between Teresa and Saint John, and the Carmelite convents dotted throughout Spain.

The marvellous is given too prominent a place. I doubt—from the evidence as given in the *procesos*—that there was anything miraculous about Saint John's escape from the pond as a child, or in the climbing up the wall when he escaped from the prison in Toledo. Those who wish to know more about Saint John's student days, i.e., who were his masters, what were his books, etc., will find a much fuller account in Crisólogo's chapter on the subject; but even he has not been able to establish much that is sure,

except perhaps that Baconthorp's was the textbook used in the walls of the monastery of Saint Andrew itself where Saint John resided.

The austerities of Saint John of the Cross stand out in the biography under review. There is a danger of establishing an absolute relationship between great austerity and high mystical experience. Fortunately, we are not bound to admire all that the saints do, especially during their formative years and when they lacked the prudence of age but had the ardent love of youth. Saint John is no exception. He is the mystical, not the ascetical doctor. Mystical prayer is not proportionate to our austerity. It is a gift from God; our part is to be obedient to His inspirations and to be humble. Saint Francis de Sales was a contemporary of Saint John of the Cross; and it is a salutary exercise to read at the same time the lives of the one and of the other. As to the end, which is love, there is no difference between them, but as to means they differ widely. Saint John's doctrine on prayer has been given the Church's highest approval. His practice of mortification is his way, other saints have shown other ways. All in all this is a stimulating and accurate life of Saint John of the Cross, a pioneer work and as such should it be honored.

COLUMBA CARY-ELWES

Saint Louis Priory

The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr. By Christopher Devlin. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1956. Pp. x, 367. $5.00.)

It is rather remarkable, though perhaps not unusual, that so well-known a figure as Robert Southwell, familiar to all from their school book anthologies, should up until now have lacked a thorough biography. Not that his life is wanting in adventurous incident. The youngest son of an old and well-connected family, Robert for some reason did not follow the rosy path of conformity entered on by his father, but chose instead exile and a Catholic education at Dr. Allen's English College at Douai where he soon became attracted to the Society of Jesus. To realize his aspirations, he travelled to Rome, entered the novitiate at Sant' Andrea and went on to study at the English College, then in charge of the Jesuits. Ordained a priest, he entered England clandestinely in 1586. There followed six harrowing years of labor for the faith as a proscribed and hated Jesuit, climaxed by the inevitable arrest, examination "by a new torture, which," in the expert opinion of Robert Cecil, "it is not possible for a man to bear," and glorious death on Tyburn Hill.

In writing this first full length biography, based in part on a large number of letters which Southwell and Garnet wrote from England and which were recently found in Rome, Father Devlin has made a substantial

contribution to the history of the English Reformation and of English letters. Moreover, he is conscious of the historian's duty to present a literary account and tells a smooth flowing, suspenseful story in which the color and form of the zestful, cruel world of the Catholic Reformation come sharply into focus. Here, however, lie pitfalls for the historian which our author does not entirely escape.

Overstatement, surmise, and coy wit mar this well written book. Father Devlin cannot always brake down the momentum of telling in time to avoid going over the deep end, as when he finishes his account of Thomas Pounde's efforts to organize recruits for the Jesuit missions in India with the remark, "If Pounde's exploit had succeeded, India might have been converted by Englishmen, instead of being merely conquered by them" (p. 14). His pride in his own order is rather too apparent, especially in a statement like" . . . it was the new Order that was mainly responsible for the success of the Counter-Reformation" (p. 84), and it makes the reader wonder whether in the account of the differences between the Jesuits and their charges at the English College in Rome, the pros and cons are being weighed with due deliberation. Protestants especially will be sensitive to the rather polemic tone of the book. While admiration on the part of the biographer for his subject is not an unmitigated evil, he will, perhaps, produce his best effect by not buttonholing his reader too importunately. What is one to think of an outpouring like this: "[Southwell] had the brain of an expert lawyer; the daring eye of a cavalry-commander; the humdrum regularity of a faithful drudge; the sensibility of a high-born lady; the dumb endurance of a hardened foot-soldier; the manners of an accomplished traveller; and the heart of a little child. Could anything be more eternally youthful than his little poem" [etc., etc.] (p. 184). But in the impressive last chapter the martyr in his painful passion and death speaks for himself. In those solemn pages all, whether Protestant or Catholic, agnostic or believer, will once more stand in awe at the spectacle of a grand and noble human spirit at grips with the evil forces of this world.

JOACHIM SMET

Institutum Carmelitanum
Roma

Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950. By E. T. Watkin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 244. $1.50.)

In this popular and provocative survey Edward Ingram Watkin not only surveys the trials, eventual toleration, and increase of Roman Catho-

lics in England, but he examines as well their internal affairs, their religious life abroad, and the accomplishments of outstanding ecclesiastics and laymen. After an introductory account of the Protestant Revolt he depicts the precarious position of Catholics after Pope St. Pius V had deposed Queen Elizabeth—a measure that he characterizes as a blunder and a disaster—the careers of the missionaries and the martyrs, and the bitter struggle between the Appellants and the Jesuits. In the face of persecution Catholics were generally patriotic and loyal. "Despite the Protestant tradition to the contrary, John Bull may wear a Jesuit's gown" (p. 48). To the mind of this reviewer Watkins tends to minimize the severity of persecution and proscription.

The chapter on seventeenth-century England describes the suffering of Catholics as a result of their loyalty to the Stuart dynasty, the Gallican-like view of the clergy, and the establishment of English religious houses on the continent. This is followed by an interesting treatment of the eighteenth century that highlights the Glorious Revolution and its aftermath, the preservation of the faith by the nobility and gentry, the career of the remarkable Bishop Challoner, the first relief measures against the oppression of the penal laws, and the coming to England of the French clergy during the revolution.

Watkin's analysis of the period from 1803 to 1850 touches upon familiar topics such as emancipation and O'Connell and the numerical increase of Catholics, and the less familiar missionary efforts of Gentili and Barberi and the revival of Gothic architecture by Augustus Pugin. His opinion of Bishop John Milner is too harsh. Considerations of personality apart, Milner's claim to fame is his insistence on the freedom of the Church from government control. In his sermon on the Second Spring Newman did not hesitate to say that Milner was "the champion of God's ark in an evil time." The author is sympathetic to the older Catholics, for he notes that some converts introduced "new laws and practices and devotional novelties, finding fault and laying down the law" (p. 182) when they ought to have been learners. With regard to Irish immigration, he acknowledges the debt owed by English Catholics to the Irish. He calls attention to the suggestion that the urgency of providing for the latter's religious needs drew the attention and work of the clergy from the English mission field. Further, the identification of Catholicism with the Irish erected another barrier between Protestant England and the Church.

The last chapter discusses the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850, the contributions of Wiseman, Manning, and Newman (who is viewed as the person who took the *via media* between the liberal Catholic intelligentsia and the conservative Catholics), and the developments and personalities of the twentieth century. It is regrettable that Watkin was able to devote

no more than sixteen pages to twentieth-century problems such as the "appalling leakage to at least practical irreligion." He is not altogether satisfied with the results of Catholic schools. This is partly attributable to the fact that children are "crammed with doctrines imparted as isolated items of indigestible information, supplied with dry bones of text book theology coated with devotional sugar" (p. 212). He urges that the Catholic religion be displayed "as it is, a living organism within which every doctrine and practice is meaningful, an expression of the Divine Life of Christ's mystical body"—a subject that he has discussed elsewhere. The book contains some sweeping judgments, e.g., concerning Benedict XV's peace plan which he rightly describes as equally Christian and statesmanlike, Watkin says that if it had been accepted the world would have been spared "privation, suffering, massacre, on an enormous scale, revolution, persecution, tyranny, slavery, the Second World War, National Socialism, Communism ruling from Central Europe to the Pacific" (p. 220). However, Watkin has written a sympathetic and perceptive survey of unusual merit.

GAETANO L. VINCITORIO

St. John's University
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From Bossuet to Newman. The Idea of Doctrinal Development. By Owen Chadwick. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 249. $5.00.)

The definition of the Assumption of our Lady has given a new importance to the idea of doctrinal development, and might even be said to have led to a development of the doctrine of development itself. Hence this fascinatingly learned study of the history of that doctrine appears at an opportune moment. It is written from an Anglican standpoint, and now and then the Catholic theologian may wish to enter a mild demurrer, but the Catholic historian will be delighted with its objectivity, its tone, its wit, and its masterly scholarship. Dr. Chadwick's researches have taken him to libraries in Rome, in Spain, to the archives of the English Oratories and to the Brownson Papers at the University of Notre Dame.

The history of the solutions proposed to the problem of the apparent changes in doctrine is traced from the time of Bossuet's *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* (1688) which declared that variation in religion is always a sign of error, through the Spaniards who hoped that the theory of strict logical explication would solve the difficulty, to the south German theologians, Drey and Möhler, who were influenced by

Kant, Hegel, and Schleiemacher. None of the solutions proposed was adequate, and Dr. Chadwick marks them off clearly from Newman's solution. Indeed, in the case of Bossuet he, perhaps, over-emphasizes difference, in the interests of his thesis. How much there is in common between Newman's "to be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant," and the theme of the *History of the Variations!*

The account of the genesis of Newman's theory is most satisfying. It becomes quite clear that Dr. Chadwick has examined all the hypotheses in the light of the facts, and like Newman himself (who called his theory a hypothesis to account for a difficulty), been guided only by the facts. Where did Newman get his theory? Not from the German philosophers, not from the south German Catholic theologians.

> The line of thought, the expression of ideas, the use of analogies, the form and argument were Newman's, original to him, individual, stamped with the impress of that unusual cast of mind. . . . I have been enabled to peruse the note-books and drafts with which Newman, from March 1844, prepared to write the *Essay*. In those note-books you can see the hares which he starts, the scents which he came to see were false, the analogies which he brought into the open to eye critically and discard. . . . There are his authorities and the ideas which they suggested to him—and apart from Guizot and Gieseler (historians touched by the modern spirit) they are patristic authorities. He was not reading Möhler, nor Wiseman, nor Perrone, nor even Petau. He was reading Justin Martyr, Athanasius, Tertullian, Ambrose, Lactantius, Cyril (pp. 118-119).

Again, "The arguments and conclusions in all his writing carry a first-hand atmosphere, a freshness which comes only to one who has assimilated and digested his authorities and thought them through and through" (p. 111).

In his excellent outline of Newman's theory Dr. Chadwick seems to give insufficient emphasis to the part played by the infallible Church and the convictions of the faithful. These are essential to the whole theory, but Dr. Chadwick is continually afraid that scholarly research will suffer at their hands. Yet to make revelation depend ultimately on the researches of historians is surely just as naturalistic as to say that it can only develop according to the strict logic of the syllogism. Newman's initial difficulties with the theologians and others who had so little sense of history are described, but not sufficiently the way in which the doctrine was incorporated into Catholic theology, although the *doctrinal* significance of the re-publication of the *Essay on Development* in 1878 is well brought out. Newman's theory facilitated the definitions of 1854 and 1870, and a sentence he wrote in a letter in 1844, quoted in the *Apologia*, almost summarizes the doctrine of the present Holy Father in *Munificentissimus*

Deus: "Granting that the Roman (special) doctrines are not found drawn out in the early Church, yet I think there is sufficient trace of them in it, to recommend and prove them, *on the hypothesis* of the Church having a divine guidance, though not sufficient to prove them by itself" (Uniform edition, p. 197).

The Master of Selwyn seems to have only one real objection to Newman's doctrine which he expounds with such scintillating scholarship and so obviously *con amore,* and it is epitomized in the question with which he concludes his book. "These new doctrines, of which the Church had a feeling or inkling but of which she was not conscious—in what meaningful sense may it be asserted that these new doctrines are not 'new revelation'?" The same point is made on page 154, in connection with the knowledge the apostles had of the truths of faith, and on page 160 as to revelation ending with the last apostle. The answer is provided surely on page 152 which sends us back to the *University Sermons.* In that volume and in the *Grammar of Assent* we learn how ideas can be possessed long before they begin to be realized and set out in propositions. The interconnection of Newman's psychology of the mind and his theory of development has just been strongly emphasized by Père Walgrave, O.P., in his book on Newman, and by Father Rahner, S.J., in his recent long essay on development has a line of approach very similar to this of Newman's.

Dr. Chadwick's book takes its place at once as indispensable on its subject. He has put us all in his debt by writing so lucidly, so urbanely, and so learnedly on a topic of such great importance.

C. Stephen Dessain

The Oratory
Birmingham, England

A History of the Catholic Church. By Fernand Mourret, S.S. Translated by Newton Thompson. Volume VIII, *Period of the Early Nineteenth Century (1823-1878).* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1957. Pp. xiii, 807. $11.00.)

Father Thompson's translation of the eighth volume of Mourret's *History of the Catholic Church* makes available in English a comprehensive, popular treatment of the pontificates of Leo XII, Pius VIII, Gregory XVI, and Pius IX. For the sake of convenience the treatment is divided into three parts, the first devoted to the pontificates of Leo XII and Pius VIII, and the last two to the pontificates of Gregory XVI and Pius IX respectively. The arrangement found in the preceding Mourret volumes is used

here: consideration is given to papal history, to the missions, to especially important subjects, such as the Lamennais affair, the declaration of the Immaculate Conception, and the Vatican Council, and to a country-by-country survey of the history of the Church throughout the world.

What has been said of previous volumes of the Mourret-Thompson series can be repeated of the eighth volume. It is a faithful translation of the work of a French scholar in church history who is eminently loyal to the Church and tries conscientiously to be fair to its opponents. He is suspicious of Montalembert and enthusiastic about Veuillot, but he tries—not always successfully—to see the accomplishments and the shortcomings of both. His work is on the whole a trustworthy and comprehensive popular treatment, but it contains frequent factual errors and questionable evaluations, especially in the treatment of the history of the Church outside France. And it is unduly French-centered, treating the social and political problem of the nineteenth century, e.g., as though it were essentially a French problem. France and Rome are the center of the Church for Mourret; other countries stand on the periphery.

The later volumes of the Mourret history reveal clearly the problems which plague the translator. Should Father Thompson put Mourret's work into English without comment or alteration, or should he alter it to put a more valuable work into the American reader's hands? This reviewer suggests that the Mourret volume could be improved in its English translation by at least two modifications of the original by the translator: 1) the bibliography could be made more valuable by bringing it up to date and making it less French-centered, for Mourret relies almost entirely on French sources for his treatment, e.g., English and American Church history, and the works of the last forty years—since Mourret did his history—are ignored; 2) numerous factual errors, such as the date of Goerres' conversion (p. 56), could be corrected either in the text or in footnotes. These suggestions are not meant to deny that the eighth volume of Mourret's *A History of the Catholic Church* is an interestingly written, generally reliable work, and makes available to the American student a wealth of information hitherto not available in his own tongue.

THOMAS P. NEILL

Saint Louis University

Histoire du Mouvement Mutualiste Chrétien en Belgique. By Rudolph Rezsohazy. (Brussels: Aux Editions Erasme. 1957. Pp. 344.)

Professor Fogarty's recent *Christian Democracy in Western Europe, 1820-1953* (Notre Dame, 1957) could spare only a few lines for the volun-

tary social insurance societies in Belgium, in the form of a summary of a Belgian Catholic source in their defense. This brief reference, one of the two in English known to this reviewer, might have aroused some curiosity in regard to this most unusual method of social insurance. If it has, the student can find an abundant literature on the subject in French and Flemish. The most recent example is this new historical study from the Social Studies Center of the University of Louvain.

The uniqueness of the Belgian system is that voluntary mutual aid societies have survived from the pre-industrial age, and have been sustained, rather than absorbed, by the state. This volume traces the history of those of Christian inspiration from 1800 to the present time. It sees their development as a series of alternating stages of preparation and upswing which depend on a variety of factors which are explored in detail. Basically, there was the Christian sense of obligation toward one's fellows, which gradually emancipated itself from the prevailing individualism of the early nineteenth century, passed successively through a paternalistic and corporative phase, and finally emerged with a philosophic base of Christian democracy. Another is the splintering of liberal, neutral, patronal, and socialist societies from the original stock, which gives Belgium its pluralistic social system that has stamped every aspect of its contemporary history. A third is the attitude of the state which from 1840-1857 encouraged voluntary insurance associations and gave them some subsidies—the period after 1886 is one of greater subsidization and more stringent regulation. Today there is obligatory insurance for all workers. But while obliging all to insure themselves, the state treats the various societies impartially. Each worker is free to choose his own, and each association shares state funds in proportion to its numerical strength. The Christian insurance societies have been centralized in a National League since 1906. They do not require active religious profession from their members. They provide a wide variety of services: sick and death benefits; medical and surgical aid; pensions for widows, aged, orphans, and the disabled; maternity, tubercular, and family health aid. Clearly this is a full blown social security system. It is claimed that the Christian societies have brought medical knowledge to the masses by their health education program, have given substance to the Christian message by their apostolic activity, and have trained workers for posts in the Catholic social movement by their democratic management.

This volume is in the best tradition of Louvain historical scholarship. An unusual feature are the short summaries of its conclusions in German, Spanish, and English.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

Ladycliff College

Christian Democracy in Europe, 1820-1953. By Michael P. Fogarty. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 461. $6.75.)

A long and sympathetic acquaintance with social Catholic movements on the continent has well equipped Professor Fogarty, head of the Department of Industrial Relations at University College, Cardiff, for his task of writing an analysis, a history, and an appraisal of European Christian democracy. The result is the only work in English in which one can obtain a detailed and systematic view of the various contemporary social movements in Europe which owe their inspiration to Christian revelation. The term Christian democracy can be misleading to the average reader in Anglo-Saxon countries, for he may be tempted to restrict it to the purely political aspect of the movement. Christian democracy, as Professor Fogarty states, "might be crudely defined as the movement of those laymen, engaged on their own responsibility in the solution of political, economic and social problems in the light of Christian principles, who conclude from these principles and from practical experience that in the modern world democracy is normally best: that government in the State, the firm, the local community, or the family, should not be merely of and for the people but also by them."

The ideal of Christian democracy is "personalist" rather than individualist, accepting that the individual is an organic member of society and has his responsibilities toward society; "pluralist" in that it defends the autonomy of the smaller or subsidiary bodies, e.g., the industry, the firm, the social class, or the community against the monolithic or overcentralizing state; "conservative" rather than traditionalist in that it refuses to identify itself with a defense of the past. The author points out that in facing up to the evolution of modern society European Christians said "yes" to the bulk of new developments while saying "no" to some of their aspects. They have established themselves in a position which rejects the individualism of liberalism, on the one hand, and the collectivism of socialism on the other. The Christian democratic movements are overwhelmingly lay in personnel and orientation, because their sphere is distinct from that of Catholic Action where laity and clergy collaborate jointly. They are becoming progressively "a-confessional" in character, seeking to group all men of good will in a common effort.

The history of the several movements is taken up here in detail. Adequate coverage is given to the Protestant contribution to Christian democracy, an aspect often neglected in evaluations of the European scene. The relatively brief treatment given to managerial and middle class movements is valuable for its insights into the status and role of the Christian in the modern enterprise. A significant feature of the European Christian demo-

cratic approach is that the family movements, particularly when they are under Catholic inspiration, are movements not merely *for* families but *by* families.

The chapters which are devoted to the possibility of a new orientation in Christian democracy, particularly of a "breakthrough" toward the left, are interesting and provocative. The bulk of the support for the Christian political parties and for the Christian labor unions comes from practicing Catholics and Protestants. At the same time, the majority of practicing Catholics and Protestants are already aligned with the Christian movements, at least in the political and trade union areas. Where can Christian democracy find new recruits or make its impact felt more effectively in a pluralist society? A small minority in the various countries incline toward a common labor movement and a labor party in which Christians and socialists would work together to achieve policies which they have in common, while Catholics and Protestants would remain free to pursue the special objectives which flow from their religious principles. In view of the record of continental socialism, however, the author seems to be too optimistic about the feasibility of such a development.

Although Professor Fogarty modestly terms his work "a preliminary survey of one aspect of the social influence of the Christian Churches," it is really an important contribution to the literature on present-day European society and includes detailed bibliographies and valuable statistical tables. This volume will make a significant addition to the bookshelves of specialists and of all intelligent observers of social Catholicism.

AIDAN C. MCMULLEN

Saint Peter's College
Jersey City

Mercy unto Thousands. Life of Mother Mary Catherine McAuley, Foundress of the Sisters of Mercy. By Sister M. Bertrand Degnan, R.S.M. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 394. $6.50.)

The author of this volume is not a professional historian; she is a poet and a teacher. But it is as a Sister of Mercy that she has undertaken to write a biography of the great woman who founded the Sisters of Mercy but who had not been, up to the present, the subject of a satisfying biography. The life by Mother Teresa Austin Carroll abounds in insights into the soul of Mother Catherine and is alive with the spirit of her order, but its historical matrix is not always sure. The recent life by Roland Burke Savage, S.J., stands on much firmer ground historically but its effort to de-mythologize the foundress makes it appear to take away more than it gives, to destroy rather than to construct. Sister Mary Bertrand has united

the two methods and has improved on both of them. No biography of such a figure as Mother Mary Catherine McAuley can be said to be definitive. Accounts of her life and influence will be appearing long after everyone, now alive, is dead. But the present work supplants all others now available and offers a sure foundation for further progress.

Because of the genuine affinity between author and subject, this study presents a lucid and sympathetic treatment of an unusual career which saw a young woman salvage her threatened religious faith and go on to develop one of the most potent forces in nineteenth-century Catholicism. Although a biography, the book's major interest is in the order which Mother Catherine filled with a spirit which has enabled it to circle the globe. It is not so much that Mother Catherine's personality is swallowed up in her work, although such a gigantic effect must always dwarf an individual cause. Although she had lived most of her life before she became a Sister of Mercy, still we have considerable information on her early years. But Catherine Elizabeth McAuley is an elusive character. She breaks through our accustomed categories with an ease of which only the holy are capable. And yet she was by no means a conventional holy woman. Her mother, e.g., orientated her away from the Church. An orphan in her late teens—and she has the orphan's genius for impersonality—Catherine lived for decades in surroundings where it was impossible for her not to be influenced by anti-Catholic prejudice, notably against the religious life as lived in orders and congregations of the Catholic Church—a life she was to come to love wholeheartedly and to influence prodigiously. When in her forties the orphan became an heiress, an additional motive for elusiveness was added to the list. As foundress, Catherine mothered an order in which contemplation has always energized multiple activities and yet she went for her training to an order which had turned its back on activism.

Sister Mary Bertrand did the only thing possible in dealing with a figure of such magniture and such mystery. She went abroad to live in the places Mother Catherine lived in, and to study the convent annals written by contemporaries. As a Sister of Mercy she had access to documents which would not be shown to outsiders. As a poet she was able to visualize Mother Catherine's life and to penetrate into her spirit. As a conscientious biographer she has never permitted herself to overstep the evidence, to enlarge on the sources by imagination. As a gentlewoman, she has not allowed herself to glory when she uncovers the errors of her predecessors. This last trait somewhat obscures, perhaps, her very real contributions to the knowledge of Mother Catherine; but they are easily recognized by those familiar with the subject. The author has exploited thoroughly all the sources, and her researches in Ireland and England familiarized her with the unpublished manuscripts and letters of the

foundress and her contemporaries. In addition Sister Bertrand is the first biographer who had access to all the pertinent Roman documents. Finally she wisely took as her guide in writing Mother Mary Vincent Hartnett, who was trained by the foundress and alone of all those who knew her intimately attempted a full-length life for publication. As a result we have for the discerning a thoroughly satisfactory biography of Mother Mary Catherine McAuley.

EDWARD A. RYAN

Woodstock College

Saint Bernadette Soubirous, 1844-1879. By Francis Trochu. Translated and adapted by John Joyce, S.J. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1958. Pp. xii, 400. $4.95.)

It is, indeed, fortunate that the Lourdes centenary should be marked by the appearance of this English translation of Monsignor Trochu's life of Saint Bernadette. This biography, solidly grounded on documentary evidence and written in a sympathetic, yet objective, manner is worthy of serving in many ways as a model for future hagiographers. Perhaps the most significant contribution which the author has made lies in his understanding and reverent treatment of the Soubirous family life. Extreme poverty is evident in every line of description, but it is a poverty which ennobles rather than degrades. There is, moreover, no sharpness in the parental displeasure about the apparitions—only deep concern for the humiliations which they involved for their young daughter. Their conscientious refusal to accept any gifts from the many visitors who came to their "dungeon" home to see the one so favored by our Lady indicates a prudence not of this world. The child's sanctity is pictured, then, not in startling contrast to her background, but as the fruit of a seed nurtured by the simple faith of her parents.

The sanctity of Bernadette Soubirous, declared officially by Pope Pius XI on December 8, 1933, is clearly delineated throughout the book. Of particular note is the balance, quantitatively speaking, which the author maintains between his account of the apparitions (190 pages) and his narration of the years spent by Bernadette in the convent of Nevers (158 pages). But the detailed coverage of the latter period, although valuable in its presentation of much new information on this phase of her life, causes a stylistic slump in the narrative. In this section the testimony of numerous witnesses is "collected" rather than "used" to corroborate a point; lengthy quotations and explanations impede the reader's progress; and many of the expressions are, if not archaic, at least anachronistic.

Conjecture as to the motives and psychological predispositions of the novice mistress, Mother Marie Therese Vauzou, seems unnecessarily detailed, and even repetitive, and although the internal life of the convent is pictured carefully, it is so encased in nineteenth-century France that it may well need a little more "adapting" for the twentieth-century American. Because of this difficulty, the story loses some of its vitality in the second half of the work. The clarity of style so well matched to the simplicity of the child Bernadette is lost when the setting is transferred to Nevers and is, unfortunately, not replaced by a comparable sophistication for the adult years.

Yet, we must not overlook the great service that Monsignor Trochu has rendered Bernadette in removing her from the category of overly-pious saints of the romantic era. She emerges in this biography as she must have been—simple, unaffected, courageous in accepting her mission, sensitive to a lack of understanding and affection, possessing common sense, childlike candor, and a ready sense of humor. Deeply impressed by heaven's predilection for her, she remained humbly awed at the great graces she had received and in perfect harmony with the will of God in her regard. The message of Our Lady of Lourdes—pray and do penance—found its most receptive listener in the one most favored there. It became her lifelong motto, summed up by Monsignor Trochu as ". . . to pray, to do penance, to mortify herself, and to suffer for sinners." The value of the book lies chiefly in that it makes Bernadette believable and imitable. It also makes clear the importance of the message of Lourdes and the comparative unimportance of the messenger. Bernadette would be the first to approve that.

MOTHER MARY ALICE GALLIN

College of New Rochelle

Newman, His Life and Spirituality. By Louis Bouyer of the Oratory. Translated from the French by J. Lewis May. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1958. Pp. xiii, 391. $7.50.)

John Henry Cardinal Newman is to this admirer of his a much more complex personality than it seems to me he is for Father Bouyer or Monsignor H. Francis Davis, who wrote an intensely interesting and heartwarming preface to the book. My reasons for this statement will, I trust, become clear in the course of this review. By this, however, I do not mean to imply that Father Bouyer's book is not a first-rate production. It is, and I hope that it will succeed not only in pleasing the "old faithful guard" for whom there can never be too much about their idol, but also in attract-

ing new followers from a generation which by and large has not as yet been caught in the Newman net.

We have here a translation of a work written originally in French by Father Bouyer in 1952. Usually we welcome a translation only because it opens at least the substance of some work to those incapable, because of the language barrier, of benefiting by the original. But in this instance at least we of the English-speaking lands will take the translation in preference to the original because the book contains so many quotations from Newman's writings, and only the language in which Newman expressed himself and which he himself helped to enrich can convey those marvellous cadences which flow like music from his pen. While I have not made a word-for-word comparison between the French and English editions, I found when I did take paragraphs at random here and there that the translator in every instance had succeeded rather brilliantly in turning a sometimes difficult French into excellent English. The English version reads delightfully; so much so that one must occasionally make an effort to recall the fact that it is a translation and not an original production.

In the author's note at the beginning of the volume he says "the documents will tell their tale without suppression, alteration or addition." Unfortunately, he does not make clear whether these documents include many of the still unpublished letters in the Birmingham Oratory. But Father Bouyer had even apart from these letters an abundance of excellent source material to draw upon. There was, of course, Newman's piece of world literature, the *Apologia,* to begin with. For large sections of his work he leans quite frankly on Wilfrid Ward's monumental *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1912). He acknowledges the special kindness of Father Henry Tristram in sending him a copy of the collection he had made of Newman's *Autobiographical Writings,* in which we have restored the complete text of many letters edited by Miss Anne Mozley and in which too many portions had been needlessly suppressed. The last forty pages of this book are based solidly on Father Tristram's *Newman and His Friends* published in 1933. This does not suggest that Father Bouyer did not consult many other works besides these. He is obviously familiar with a vast amount of the Newmaniana. It is, however, mainly to the works just indicated that he refers throughout his book.

One naturally asks himself what real contribution Father Bouyer offers on Newman beyond what we already possess in what seems an endless flow of Newman literature. It is certainly less than he made in his French original, for then he was able to draw on a considerable amount of hitherto unpublished material furnished him by Father Tristram. A good portion of this material has since been presented to the English speaking world by Father Tristram under the name of *John Henry Newman Autobiogra-*

phical Writings (New York, 1957). Father Bouyer does not add so very much to what we were given by Wilfrid Ward concerning the events in the life of Newman. It might well be said that this book is much less a life of Newman than it is a history of a soul in its progress through this vale of tears into the hands of its Maker. Father Bouyer is not overconcerned about giving us an account of all the incidents, less still, all their details, which filled in the life of Newman, a life that ran through all but eleven years of the hectic nineteenth century. His contribution here lies rather in what I shall call his interpretation of these events, some of which I should like to discuss later on. But what he does aim at throughout is to keep before the eyes of his readers the one force which varied little and wavered not at all through the many vicissitudes of his long and brilliant career—the spirituality of John Henry Newman. It is here, I think, that Father Bouyer scores his greatest success.

Notwithstanding the fact that attacks have been made on his character both during his lifetime and since, no one can seriously question the fact, which Father Bouyer reveals on almost every page of his book, that Newman from the day of his first "conversion" while still but a boy and a Protestant sought only to know the will of God and never to be guilty of sinning against the "Light." This is much the same as saying that all through his life he strove for supernatural perfection. That he attained it to a notable degree becomes evident from a quick survey of the manner in which he faced the many problems, difficulties, and disappointments which crowded in upon him, particularly after his entry into the Catholic Church. Father Bouyer dwells on just a few of these, partly and, perhaps, chiefly to show that time and again Newman undertook new projects, often at the request of others and just as often against his own intuitions, but always with the deeper conviction that he was thereby obeying some real call from God. How often his intuitions were to prove him right was to be part of the tragedy that we meet in Newman the convert.

There was the infamous Achilli trial which was to disturb him just when he needed all his time and strength to prepare the way for the Catholic University of Ireland. Occasioned as much by Wiseman as it was by himself, he was left by Wiseman to fight the battle alone through the courts only to lose the decision to a man who had betrayed his sacred trust. The complete sense of frustration that overtook him in the fantastic story of the university in Ireland drained out of him some elan that was never to be totally recovered. He had been asked by the English bishops to undertake, as editor and part-translator, an English edition of the Holy Scriptures. Again, seemingly due to Wiseman's apathy the scheme never got beyond the talking stage. Asked to take over the editorship of the *Rambler* in an effort to strengthen the Catholic life of the laity in Eng-

land, he was told to resign after the first number and delated to Rome for heresy after the second. Came the problem of the Papal States, and from the start his position was suspect and he himself once again "under a cloud," for having, according to Manning, denied the temporal power of the pope and, according to others, for having even preached in favor of Garibaldi. It was to require the dastardly attack by Charles Kingsley on his integrity as a man, a Christian, and a priest, to bring him back from near oblivion and to make him once again a name of which all England would be proud.

But to have become once again an idol to his countrymen in general was still not enough to silence opposition in certain ecclesiastical quarters at home and abroad. His attempt to establish the Oratory at Oxford was blocked chiefly by Cardinal Manning. In the discussions which took place before and after the definition of papal infallibility, his orthodoxy was to come under new attacks, notwithstanding the fact that what was finally and really defined by the Vatican Council was in the main what Newman had all along believed and fought for. He allowed himself to be persuaded not only to preach his first sermon when still a subdeacon on the occasion of the funeral in Rome of a niece of Lady Shrewsbury's, but even to use this occasion to denounce Protestant beliefs. Of course, by yielding, against his better judgment, he gave deep offense to Protestants and to many Catholics alike. The *Essay on Development* appeared, and chiefly because some Unitarians in the United States pretended to find therein a defense of their own position, he was charged again in Rome with being something less than true to Catholic tradition. He met with difficulties on the part of his own brethren of the Oratory, some of whom, like Faber, apparently sought to out-latinize the Italians in their manifestations of devotion to our Lady and the saints and who, as Father Bouyer says, "furnished some priceless material for *Punch*." Then came Wiseman "shouting from the housetops" that Newman had been offered a bishopric by the Holy See, and who did nothing to set things right even when Newman's friends, thus misled, began to embarrass him with episcopal gifts and to address him as bishop-elect. Finally, even when the cardinalate was offered him, he was made to appear as having refused the honor and practically snubbed Pope Leo XIII.

But Father Bouyer could go on and on. Add to all this the loss of friends and the broken bonds of family ties, and one asks was ever a man called upon to suffer more in order to be allowed to witness for Christ. Should we wonder too much that in the end it contributed to make of him something of a Jeremiah who himself says in his 1859-1879 journal: "I am dissatisfied with the whole of this book. It is more or less a complaint from one end to the other. But it represents what has been the

state of my mind, and what my cross has been." Yet it is precisely in all these trials and tribulations, sketched at times hastily and at other times at some length, that Father Bouyer spells out for us Newman's unfailing grasp of spiritual values. And assuredly he is basically right, for these apparent failures and frustrations which dogged his life served but to point up Newman's detachment from the things of this world and his persevering serenity of soul. Ward stated many years ago in his biography that the storm of Newman's life threatened more than once to prove a tragedy, but it ended, as it began, in peace and happiness. And Newman himself was able to write in 1862 to the *Globe,* when that publication falsely reported his pending defection both from the Oratory and the Catholic Church: "I have not had one moment's wavering of trust in the Catholic Church ever since I was received into her fold." It was in truth, as Father Stephen Dessain says in his foreword to *Autobiographical Writings* that, while these writings were never meant to be broadcast to the world, they enable us to follow Newman in his "hunger and thirst for holiness."

But the question has been raised, and it will doubtless be asked again: how can we reconcile in Newman a life of holiness, even sanctity, with what seemed to Newman himself to have been a complaint from one end of his days to the other? No one has exposed more brutally than he did himself his extreme sensitiveness, his almost morbid self-pity, and his resentment of so many ecclesiastical authorities. These are serious admissions and they must be faced by anyone who hopes to give an honest appraisal of this great ecclesiastical figure.

One might ask, in the first place, how far Newman's statements about himself should be accepted as a faithful picture of reality, and how far they were the product of a highly sensitive conscience which saw defect where lesser souls would have seen none. More important still is the question to what extent he gave way to his sense of hurt and frustration. Monsignor Davis in his preface to the volume under review reminds us that when the French original appeared he wrote: "Since when, asks Father Bouyer, has sanctity been a matter of temperament? Since when are the robust, insensitive, healthy temperaments an exclusive seedground for sanctity? Surely sanctity consists in merit, and merit depends upon what one does with one's temperament under the influence of divine grace." This puts the matter very well, indeed. But, one still has the right to ask: what did Newman do under grace with his temperament? Did he always channel it into the ways that lead to God, or did he at times allow it to dominate him and to interfere with his pursuit of things divine? Father Bouyer makes it perfectly clear that in his opinion Newman simply never "sinned against the Light" even from the time of his first "conver-

sion" while still a member of the Anglican Church. This seems to be likewise the claim of Newman himself. And this is not far from claiming that, given the circumstances in which he was asked to follow the Light, he manifested at least one of the important marks of sanctity.

Here we meet with a problem that neither Newman nor Bouyer ever seem to have raised. Grant that Newman could conscientiously assert that he never sinned against the Light, does that prove that he always saw the Light even while he searched for it? We all know there is such a thing as being honestly convinced that our ideas on a given point correspond completely with objective reality, only to discover, often by hard experience, that we had completely overlooked some essential factors. But Father Bouyer never finds it necessary to question the correctness of Newman's judgments at the time they were made or, consequently, the possibility that men like Wiseman, Manning, Cullen, Faber, and certain Roman theologians and prelates could also have had what seemed to them at the moment compelling reasons for opposing the views taken by Newman. It is easy enough for those of us who today admire and love Newman to look back over those years and to find to our great satisfaction that, as a matter of fact, Newman was generally right and that most of the things he stood for and fought for eventually came to be accepted as true. But were these issues so overwhelmingly clear to all concerned when they were being thrashed out? And might it not have been a better defense of Newman's sanctity to maintain that he, like so many others now listed in the Church's catalogue of saints, was a holy man, a saint, in spite of his faults? For, it is possible for a man to have faults without sinning either at all, or at most venially due to human frailty, without being charged with having "sinned against the Light." It is perhaps this which accounts for the fact that all through this book the opponents of Newman are given short shrift and treated at times with something less than gentlemanly consideration. Whereas Newman was satisfied to describe Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, as unpractical, Bouyer adds that there was about him "nothing of a gentleman." He seldom mentions Wiseman without at the same time adding some derogatory phrase which makes him appear to be some sort of blustering, blundering prelate who somehow, strangely, had the lucky faculty of being able to pick himself up by a felicitous explanatory word after he had fallen flat on his face. And along with him Manning and, of course, Monsignor George Talbot are presented to us as men who were more concerned about their standing with the right people, particularly in Rome, than they were about the right involved in the issues under discussion. Now, if it is true that in the case of Newman temperament must not be taken as the norm of sanctity, then must we not expect that at least occasionally Bouyer would invoke this

same excusing reason in the case of these men, and others besides, who by their opposition brought so much anguish to the soul of Newman?

Just as it seemed necessary to me to question some of Father Bouyer's interpretations concerning personalities so, I fear, I must in honesty point to some questionable interpretations concerning events. I shall restrict myself to three of them. Let us take up first, but very briefly, the offer to Newman of a bishopric. While it is beyond question, as Bouyer and others have shown, that Wiseman broadcast the news as if it had been a *fait accompli,* and by doing so caused deep hurt and embarrassment to Newman and probably blocked further action in Rome, it is also incontestable, from what Newman tells us in his journal, but which Bouyer does not mention, that Newman himself had done a good deal of talking about the matter. Who was first in divulging the news—it probably was Wiseman—seems less important to me than the number of the persons engaged in spreading the rumor. At any rate, I do not think that Wiseman should be made to bear the blame alone.

Concerning the *Essay on Development* Father Bouyer says: "The American ecclesiastical authorities, without troubling to read the book, let alone to master it, issued a fierce denunciation of the work and its author . . . and all *they* knew was what the Boston Unitarians chose to deduce from it." On November 15, 1846, Newman himself had written to Father Dalgairns: "Knox writes me word that the whole American Church, all the Bishops I think, are up in arms against my book." Now, all this sounds today much more formidable than it should in context. Today we have in the United States well over 200 bishops, whereas when the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore convened in May, 1846, just six months after the publication of the *Essay,* there were only twenty-eight. Being given that in 1845 great portions of this country were not only canonically but also factually mission territory, we can safely assume that quite a number of these "missionary bishops" would have had neither the time nor the inclination to read the *Essay* or to denounce it. But there were some persons in the United States who did read the work, and there were also some who did not denounce it. Henry F. Brownson in his *Orestes Brownson's Middle Life* explicitly states that his father had "carefully and minutely studied" the theory and its details. The first one to have written against the *Essay* on this side of the Atlantic seems to have been Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati who condemned it in the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph.* Now, it is difficult to believe that a man of Purcell's gifts and office could have done this without so much as having read the book. At least we should wish to know on what evidence Father Bouyer bases his statment that none of the ecclesiastical authorities had read the book before denouncing it if, indeed, they all did denounce it.

For, it is known that Orestes Brownson was called upon to defend his position on the *Essay*, which suggests that the work could not have been so summarily dismissed as Father Bouyer claims. Moreover, it is also on record that not all the Americans *de facto* opposed the *Essay*, as Brownson, Archbishop Purcell, and Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston undoubtedly did. An edition of the *Essay* put out by D. Appleton & Company of New York received a sympathetic treatment in the May, 1846, number of the *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*, a journal that was the official organ of the Archbishop of Baltimore and its editors were then Fathers Charles I. White and Martin J. Spalding.

I come at last to the story of Manning's attitude toward Newman as a possible choice for the red hat. First of all, Father Bouyer nowhere mentions what he must have read in Ward's *Life*, that Manning, when he was approached by the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Petre, and Lord Ripon, actually did undertake to sound out the Holy See on the subject of a red hat for Newman. I admit freely that he did so only after the Duke of Norfolk had spoken of the matter to Pope Leo XIII. But, at least he did it, and he might have been given a nod for it. Nor does Bouyer mention Ward's own admission about the possible misreading of Newman's answer to Bishop Ullathorne notifying him that Cardinal Nina had written to him to express the Holy See's desire to bestow the red hat on Newman. Ward says forthrightly that "this letter reads like a simple refusal of the proposed dignity; but those who lived with Newman [and of course neither Manning nor Ullathorne did] knew his wish was to accept it provided he was allowed to remain at the Oratory." Instead, Father Bouyer surprisingly repeats here that Lytton Strachey "does no more than say out bluntly what Purcell, Manning's official biographer, merely hints at, and accuses Manning of wilfully garbling Newman's reply, making an acceptance look like a refusal." I fear, however, that to many who were alive in those days and to some at least who now read about those *dramatis personae*, it would not have been necessary to garble Newman's answer in order to form the honest conviction that he had refused Leo XIII's offer. Newman's letter can be read in Ward's *Life* and so, too, can Manning's answer to Newman's complaints. We are well aware of the fact that Bishop Ullathorne tried to explain Newman's position to Cardinal Manning, but unless we are ready to accuse Manning of a deliberate lie, it would seem to me that we must accept his own explanation of this unpleasant affair at least until we have been presented with more evidence to the contrary than we have up to the present time.

But I must bring this review to an end. May I say in all frankness that, while I found Bouyer's book more readable, more compact, and in various ways more interesting, it is my conviction that Wilfrid Ward presents a

more balanced picture of Newman. For Ward was able to see not only the greatness and the sanctity of the eminent cardinal, but he could also understand why men like Wiseman, Manning, Cullen, and certain Roman authorities found Newman difficult to understand and, therefore, difficult to follow. The book is remarkably free from printing mistakes. I noticed only one, where the printer has Luzo for De Lugo (p. 264). The author appends no bibliography, and the index is not too satisfactory.

LOUIS A. ARAND

The Catholic University of America

The White Fathers. By Glenn D. Kittler. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1957. Pp. xv, 299. $5.00.)

This volume portrays the life of that splendid Frenchman of the nineteenth century, Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie, and briefly tells the story of the two missionary societies, the White Fathers and the White Sisters, which he founded. Lavigerie's career was a truly notable one. Before he became Archbishop of Algiers in 1867 he had been professor of church history at the Sorbonne, head of the important *l'Oeuvre d'Orient,* consultant to the Congregation of Oriental Rites, and Bishop of Nancy. In 1882 Pope Leo XIII created him a cardinal, and in 1888 the cardinal launched a campaign against African slavery that had world wide repercussions. More than anyone of his time, Lavigerie deserves credit for freeing the African.

The ideas and accomplishments of this fiery, far-sighted French churchman are worth knowing today, and Mr. Kittler has thus performed a praiseworthy service to American Catholics. (Nothing about Lavigerie has appeared in English since the brief sketch by Father Beane, published by St. Joseph's Missionary Library at the end of the last century.) Almost a hundred years ago Lavigerie pleaded for religious, educational, economic, and political freedom for the Arabs of Algeria. He fought strongly against the blind, don't-disturb-the-Arab policy of the colonial government. Once he had to appeal to Emperor Napoleon III over the head of the powerful Governor of Algeria, Marshall MacMahon, in order to continue his charitable and educational work among the Arabs. When the emperor countermanded MacMahon's order which would have closed down Lavigerie's orphanages, one of his priests remarked, "Now we have peace. . . ." To which the archbishop replied, "Not peace, just a pause." It is not too much to say that had the colonial government of Algeria followed the liberal policies of Lavigerie, the present costly and bloody struggle there might never have occurred. "Help the Arabs or they will one day rise up against you," the archbishop had warned MacMahon.

Immediately after his arrival in Algiers, Lavigerie sensed the urgent need of priests to work among the neglected Arabs. Out of this necessity grew his idea of a society of dedicated men whose sole purpose would be the conversion of Africa to Christ. For his society Lavigerie wanted priests who would love Africa and who would be willing to go through their lives, if necessary, without making a single convert among the Arabs. He believed that "a successful priest among the Arabs must think like an Arab, dress like him, react like him, live like him, be as much like him as a priest can." With these prerequisites in mind, Lavigerie supervised the rigid training of his White Fathers, clothed them in the white robe of the Arab (hence the name of the society), and sent them out into North Africa to live Christian lives in a Moslem world. He believed that the holy lives and the works of charity of his priests would eventually dissipate the hatred of the Moslem for anything Christian. As he had expected, no great number of converts among the Moslems has been realized, but the work of the White Fathers even in this field has not been without fruit. The vast expanses of North Africa were not large enough for the zealous White Fathers. After great feats of bravery and self-sacrifice and at a high cost in lives, they succeeded in penetrating to the heart of Africa. The story of the founding of the missions in Uganda, and of the martyrdom of numerous Christians there, is a powerful one. In connection with the Uganda missions, the author gives an adequate picture of the race for converts among Mohammedan, Protestant, and Catholic missioners, as well as a description of the effects of the imperial rivalry among European powers in the "opening up" of the continent upon missionary work.

Mr. Kittler, a freelance writer for national magazines, has written this account of a great and heroic French churchman and of the missionary societies which he founded for popular consumption. The book lacks entirely the mechanics of scholarship, and the critical reader will question the existence of historical sources for large sections of the book, specifically for the conversations of the various characters. The basic facts are here, but the author apparently gave wide sway to his imagination. Despite these shortcomings, and one or two typographical errors, Mr. Kittler's volume is an absorbing contribution to our knowledge of Cardinal Lavigerie's great work and of the societies that he founded.

JOHN J. DALY

Maryknoll Seminary
Glen Ellyn

Rafael Cardinal Merry del Val. By Marie Cecilia Buehrle. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1957. Pp. viii, 308. $3.95.)

Of all the biographies of Cardinal Merry del Val published so far, this is unquestionably the most readable. Monsignor Cenci's huge Italian work

(1933) is a quarry for source material rather than an integrated narrative. Dal Gal's book (1953) is hardly more than a digest and rearrangement of Cenci's material. Frances A. M. Forbes' biography (1932), published too soon after the cardinal's death, and that of Harry Mitchell (1956) give the impression that he needed a champion to defend him against a host of enemies. Miss Buehrle avoids all these mistakes by picturing the cardinal in a very positive way. He is portrayed as being idolized wherever he goes, and thus it is simply unthinkable that he should have had enemies.

It is no secret that on certain policies Cardinal Rampolla and Monsignor della Chiesa (later Benedict XV) did not see eye to eye with Cardinal Merry del Val. Therefore, the biographies listed above say little more about Benedict XV except that he was elected to succeed Pius X. Rather than producing the charitable effect intended, this silence arouses the suspicions of any thoughtful reader. Even though Miss Buehrle allots less attention to Benedict XV than she gives to Leo XIII or Pius XI, she does mention Benedict a number of times. One of the most touching scenes in her book is that of his death. As the various cardinals passed by the bed to kiss the hand of the dying pontiff, he broke the silence only once, and that was when Merry del Val approached. "Alive or dead," murmured the expiring pontiff, "pray for me." None of the other biographies make any mention of this.

In a note at the beginning of her book Miss Buehrle writes, "Although in writing this book I have deliberately eliminated documentation, it rests none the less firmly upon a basis of authenticated facts." She insists that in order to gather her material she "travelled from afar. . . . to speak to persons closely associated" with the cardinal. In deference to her wishes the book was published without chapter headings, without table of contents or index, and without a single note. She alleges as her reason the desire that the reader "walk the more freely and easily through the years in company with the Cardinal." As in the case of Benedict XV's death, Miss Buehrle's biography contains a wealth of interesting details not found elsewhere. Her lack of documentation, therefore, is especially regrettable. The book would be so much more useful if it provided some means for tracing these details by one engaged in research. A future biographer of Paderewski, e.g., may wish to depict the great pianist's concert in the Vatican in the presence of Pius XI who lauded Merry del Val as a pianist. Similarly the spontaneous and unscheduled visit of the Prince of Wales (the present Duke of Windsor) to Merry del Val after his retirement from the secretariat of state is a fascinating episode which engenders in the reader a desire to know more.

Miss Buehrle's volume is, of course, hagiographic and not critical history, and controversial points barely receive mention. However, she is not unaware of the storm raised by the integralists for whom the cardinal was

at times accused of holding a brief, since she alludes to them in a single sentence. "Unhappily there were also extremists in the Church, who, in misdirected zeal, ostensibly against Modernism, used the condemnation in their own way, even for their own purposes, raising the cry of 'Wolf' in all directions, much in the manner of the witch hunters of an older time" (p. 129). The essence of that dispute has, perhaps, never been more briefly or popularly stated. The author's claim to praise is, then, her success in creating atmosphere. The descriptions of the British and Italian countryside are masterpieces of impressionistic writing. This reviewer still feels, however, that with chapter headings, an index, and notes, this book would not have lost one iota of its charm.

WALTER H. PETERS

College of St. Thomas

Thunder in the Distance: The Life of Père Lebbe. By Jacques Leclercq. Translated by George Lamb. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1958. Pp. viii, 322. $5.00.)

Frederick Vincent Lebbe, Belgian-born in 1877, but of an English convert mother, left Marseilles in 1901 with Bishop Favier, head of the Paris Vincentian mission in North China with its center in Peking. The bishop had returned to Europe to look for missioners after the disaster of the Boxer Uprising. Young Vincent was not yet ordained because eye-trouble had cut short his theological studies. But volunteers were very scarce and young Lebbe had an abundance of spirit if not of physique. "Thunder in the Distance," his Chinese name which gives the title to this book, is a good symbol of the mission career of this apostle of modern China. From the first Lebbe identified himself with China and the Chinese to a degree that even very dedicated missioners would find psychologically impossible. No missioner was ever more in the tradition of Ricci. Lebbe became a Chinese citizen and spent himself for everything Chinese until his death in a Chung King hospital in 1940. He saw Manchu China replaced by the New China; he witnessed the liquidation of Free China and, in fact, almost met death at the hands of the Communists. Even he was deceived by the "agarian reformers," and he had to be rescued by the personal intervention of his great friend, Chiang Kai-Shek.

From the first Lebbe played the difficult role of the reformer, but of the submissive, not rebellious reformer. Only his personal integrity and his deep spirituality kept him from becoming hated. He found almost everything wrong with the mission system under which he was expected to work. Vincent learned that to mingle with the Chinese seminarians and

student-priests was against the mission policy of virtual segregation. Chinese were seated apart from their European confrères in the refectory; Chinese was not the language of the house; European etiquette, not Chinese, was customary in treating with the Chinese, in or outside the house. This pattern of European superiority was reflected in the average parish where a Chinese priest of forty-five years of experience was often the curate of a twenty-five-year-old French priest who conducted all the affairs of the parish without knowing Chinese. Vincent's definition of missionary zeal seemed to be different than that of his confrères. Could it be that they loved their Chinese Christians but not the Chinese, especially not the elite? For the future leaders of the New China there were fine Protestant schools but not Catholic schools such as the Church had used to great advantage in Europe. There were no Catholic newspapers or periodicals in Peking or Tientsin.

The story of how Père Lebbe set about to change all this is brilliantly and frankly told in an excellent translation by Canon Jacques Leclercq, a student of Lebbe's career since he first heard him lecture at Louvain in 1913 on the Church in China. The author bases his study on the more lengthy unpublished biography of Abbé Paul Goffart, a colleague of Lebbe's who has carefully sifted all the available materials. A systematic comparison of the two biographies by this reviewer shows that Leclercq has faithfully based his work on the research-biography of Goffart. The claim of the more irresponsible critics of Leclercq that the Louvain professor need not be taken seriously as an authority on either Lebbe or China is thus quite unjust. Since its publication in French in 1955 the book has excited so much controversy that the author has been prompted to publish privately a thirty-seven-page rejoinder to his critics (*Lettre à mes amis—A Propos de la "Vie du Père Lebbe,"* 1957). This reviewer suggests that any reissue of the book include this brochure by way of a valuable appendix since it brings out in a systematic way the difference of viewpoints on fundamental mission problems in China of which the career of Lebbe was the historical focus. The points at issue, e.g., the Europeanization of the mission apostolate, are by no means local issues and of mere historical interest. A European bishop in East Africa has ordered all his prests to read this life of Père Lebbe.

The author's synoptic rather than logical treatment of complicated issues often results in a kind of "Gunther-ized" mission history. Leclercq is careful to point out that he is not writing a definitive life of Lebbe for which adequate archival materials are not yet available. Much less is he attempting to write the history of the modern missions in China. Rather he wishes to make Père Lebbe relive and introduce him to a larger public (*Lettre à mes amis* . . . pp. 13, 23). However, the brusque generalizations

of the author, e.g., on the worst features of the French protectorate and on European arrogance in general, true as they may be for the Peking-Tientsin area in the time of Lebbe, were never true of China as a whole. The superlative qualities of Lebbe's fellow missioners are too much kept in the background so that there is some cause for the protest that "in order to exalt his heroes, the author has thrown discredit on the rest of the China missioners and calumniated them in accusing them, 'en bloc' of political collusion with foreign powers, joining thus in the calumnies which the Communists are spreading against the Church in China (*Lettre à mes amis . . .*, p. 8)."

The telescoping of so much complicated history in too dramatic a fashion may also account for what the reviewer considers a certain distortion of the facts regarding the mission encyclical, *Maximum illud* (1919). The appearance of this important document on the objectives of the modern missions of the Church was considered a personal triumph for Lebbe and Cotta. The author emphasizes at all times the close friendship and collaboration of these two men (e.g., pp. 173-174), but in the case of the encyclical, most readers will get the impression that Lebbe was as responsible as Cotta for despatching the thirty-five page documented account of mission conditions in China to Cardinal Serafini, Prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide (pp. 171; 210-211). This report of December 29, 1916, is generally considered to be the source book of *Maximum illud* and was written by Cotta alone who also took the responsibility of sending it to Rome, along with another report drawn up by himself and sent at the same time on the unjust exile from Tientsin of his friend Lebbe. Cotta thus made an incident out of issues which Lebbe could never bring himself to do and without which nothing would have had to be done about the state of the Chinese clergy, at least at that time. Other qualifications could be made about the author's handling of the role of Cotta (d. 1957), e.g., regarding his part in the actual naming of the first six Chinese bishops, but these matters are outside the purpose of this review. It should be noted that there are minor omissions of the French text, e.g., pp. 234, 264; the photographs and a map of the original work are likewise not found. Finally, an index would be helpful.

Thunder in the Distance will remain as much a controversial book as Lebbe himself was during his lifetime, in Europe and in China. This is all the more reason why it should be a much-read book. If it can be said that this study suffers from the defects of its virtues, it still remains true that it is a first class contribution to a very unfamiliar chapter of the modern mission history of the Church.

WILLIAM J. COLEMAN

Maryknoll Seminary

Cardinal von Galen. By Heinrich Portmann. (London: Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd. 1957. Pp. 255. 21s.)

No student of contemporary history can fail to be interested by this biography of Clemens August Cardinal von Galen, Bishop of Münster, Westphalia. His fearless and public denunciations of the Nazi regime, and of the Gestapo in particular, give him a place in history beside Cardinals von Faulhaber and von Preysing. It is this aspect of the life of the "Lion of Münster" which is well brought out in the English version of the biography written by his chaplain, the Reverend Heinrich Portmann. R. L. Sedgwick, editor and translator of the book, abridged those parts of the German text which dealt with the cardinal's early life and his purely ecclesiastical work. His version stresses the war years, above all the bishop's opposition to National Socialism. While disappointing those who would prefer a full picture of the man and his achievement, this will probably please those interested chiefly in political history.

August Clemens von Galen was appointed to the See of Münster in September, 1933. The first German bishop consecrated after the concordat with Hitler, he scrupulously fulfilled his obligations to the government as set out in that agreement, but his coolness toward National Socialism was quite apparent. The party moved cautiously in the strongly Catholic district of his see, and until after the outbreak of the war there were relatively few outrages there. But after the successful *Blitzkrieg* priests were exiled or taken to concentration camps, religious houses were forcibly closed, and religious of both sexes turned out on the streets. In the summer of 1941 the angry bishop preached three sermons which boldly attacked the Gestapo. The sermons were circulated throughout Germany: the party was in a quandry, since it feared to lay hands on the brave shepherd, who was loved and esteemed by his entire flock. It is remarkable that those fearless men who publicly denounced the crimes of National Socialism were all ecclesiastics, and that those of them who were in positions of authority went unmolested. This raises the query as to what might have happened if non-churchmen in high places in 1933 had dared make similar public denunciations.

In the later years of the war Bishop von Galen suffered with his flock. His episcopal palace and cathedral were destroyed in the bombing of Münster, and the administration of the diocese became practically impossible. The allied invasion brought relief from air raids, but it also involved new problems. Despite his condemnation of the Gestapo, the bishop seemingly shared his countrymen's ignorance of the atrocities committed in the concentration and prison camps, and he was aghast at the retaliation taken by released Polish and Russian prisoners. He protested strongly to the British occupation authorities, and at one point he stated that the allies

were no better than the Nazis. This unfriendly attitude caused him trouble when, in February, 1946, he was called to Rome to receive the red hat. The British Foreign Office placed every obstacle in his way, and he was about to give up the attempt to leave Germany when one of his friends finally succeeded in obtaining the help of French officials. Their chivalrous co-operation enabled him to reach Rome on time for the consistory. In another month the heroic cardinal was dead. The "Lion of Münster" had fought well; perhaps, it was best that the work of reconstruction and reconciliation should be in the hands of a less uncompromising personality.

This biography gives a good picture of one of the anti-Nazi elements in Germany, and as such it will be of interest to any student of recent history. The translation is particularly good in the more stirring portions of the narrative, and the German author's enthusiastic praise of his subject is so genuine that it is not displeasing. Even the very detailed account of the eventful journey to Rome is rescued from dullness by the lively fashion in which it is presented, and the feeling of suspense that the author evokes. Those seeking documentation will find it in the bibliography which, though brief, gives all necessary information. There are no footnotes.

JANE K. MILLER

San Francisco College for Women

Anscar Vonier, Abbot of Buckfast. By Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. x, 154. $3.25.)

It is not an easy task for a member of a monastic community to write a biography of his late abbot, but this is what Dom Ernest Graf has attempted to do some nineteen years after his death. The essential part of an abbot's life is the one that he lives with his community. There are too many people alive for the writer to be completely candid. The matter is often too intimate to be divulged. A monk has withdrawn from the world and normally his life is of little interest to the world unless by his work, by his words, or by the holiness of his life, attention is drawn, though unintentionally, to himself. In the case of Abbot Vonier we have a man of great taciturnity and scarcely any letters that have survived except to a French abbess, and these are of importance. As Dom Ernest points out, his books reveal nothing directly of himself. But there is much in which he was outstanding; he rebuilt a Benedictine abbey on the ruins of a mediaeval one in England; and this seemed the least likely thing to come from the child that was born in the old Austrian Empire in the year 1876 on the feast day of his namesake, Saint Martin, in the village of Ringschnait in Swabia. He was German through and through. In a sense he remained so throughout his life. His speech was guttural, his mind was ponderous,

his work was thorough, his manner was not a little heavy. Even as abbot one suspects that there was something of *My Lord* Abbot as well as *Father* Abbot. For all that he was very simple and direct, cheerful and even joyous. This emerges from the biography and would be vouched for by all who knew him.

How he came to Buckfast is a strange series of coincidences and is well told by Dom Ernest. There had been a Benedictine monastery in France called La Pierre-Qui-Vire which was of recent foundation and of great austerity, but like all other religious orders, the monks were ejected by the Free Masonic French government at the end of the last century. Like so many others, e.g., the monks of Solesmes, they finally came to England and in this case settled in Devonshire at Buckfast. Although this monastery was mainly made up of French monks and for the first ten years at Buckfast the language spoken was French, there were two German monks in the community and one of them, going back to his native Austria, brought with him some boys to be trained either to be priests or monks, or if that did not come about, to go back into the world. It was in 1889 that Martin Vonier, one of these youths, arrived at Buckfast. He had spent the preceding year in Beauvais at the college of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, where he acquired a good knowledge of French. In 1894 he pronounced his vows and in 1898 he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Plymouth. Already he had shown outstanding intellectual ability and great powers of concentration. The Hebrew Bible was his constant companion. He was sent, therefore, to the new Benedictine college on the Aventine in Rome, where after one year he obtained a doctor's degree. It was in Rome that he acquired insight into the spirit of the Benedictine rule, making it possible for him to modify somewhat the extreme austerities of the earlier Buckfast spirit. The wise insights on this question are an interesting part of the book. In 1902 Buckfast was raised to the status of an abbey and another German, Dom Boniface Natter, was elected. It was on August 4, 1906, that he and Abbot Natter, on board the Italian ship *Sirio*, were shipwrecked off the south coast of Spain. Hundreds were drowned, including the first Abbot of Buckfast. Father Anscar Vonier came back to Buckfast where, on September 14 of that year, he was elected the second abbot.

His work was now clear to him. He would rebuild his abbey upon the ancient foundations of that earlier monastery which had been destroyed at the time of the Reformation. Many thought that these were wild ideas incapable of accomplishment. Slowly but surely, as the money came in, the dream became a reality. The church was consecrated in 1932 and the final beauty of the tower was completed in 1938. The work had begun in 1907. Father Ernest tells the story graphically enough. Today many may

think that to recreate a dead past is an anachronism, almost an admission that Christianity cannot be presented in the images and symbols and techniques of today's world. Artistically Buckfast Abbey is not original and does not strike one with the immediate delight and joy that a work of genius might do, but the thing which struck the imagination of so many thousands who still flock to see it was not so much the artistic beauty as the courage and stamina, the faith of those monks who built it with their own hands. This seemed like a recurrence of those ancient days of faith when the monks themselves built their own churches. Historically this simple outlook may well be inaccurate; even the Cistercians did not necessarily build their own churches. There were guilds of masons who went from site to site. Nevertheless, the gradual emergence from the ground of this massive pile would seem not only to Catholics but to the ordinary Englishman a symbol of a return to religion.

It seems certain that Abbot Vonier's memory will survive longest by its link with the founding of this church and abbey. But this was not his only occupation. He wrote a number of spiritual works; he was a master in theology, philosophy, and solid piety. His teacher was St. Thomas Aquinas. His style was lacking in grace, but the matter was solid. The most read of these books will be the one on the Blessed Eucharist in which he reproduces, with accuracy and insight, the basic ideas of his master, St. Thomas. Undoubtedly it will last as one of the formative works of this period for anyone studying the growth of understanding within the Church on the mystery of the sacrifice of the Mass. Ample material on his writings is given in the biography. His preaching was as ponderous as his writing, but like his written work it had a kind of basic seriousness, humanity, and geniality which give it weight. These thoughts have been invoked by this good biography and one hopes they will encourage many to read it.

COLUMBA CARY-ELWES

Saint Louis Priory

In a Great Tradition. Tribute to Dame Laurentia McLachlan, Abbess of Stanbrook. By Benedictines of Stanbrook. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1957. Pp. viii, 312. $5.00.)

During the seventy years which she spent in an enclosed convent in England, Dame Laurentia McLachlan was engaged in scholarly activities which brought her into contact with an astonishingly large number of persons beyond the walls of her abbey. From her earliest days in the monastic life she devoted much of her time to musical and literary work. Together with Dom Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes, and Dom Mocquereau, she was a pioneer in the liturgical revival associated with the restoration

of Gregorian Chant. Dom Guéranger of Solesmes had become the center of the movement for the organized study of early plainsong manuscripts, and with him was associated Dom Mocquereau. Dame Laurentia's correspondence with the latter, over a period of more than thirty years, indicates their close collaboration in this activity. She became a strong supporter of Solesmes. Her contribution to the liturgical revival is suggested by her publications, including *Gregorian Music* and *Rules for Psalmody*. The first is a résumé of one of Mocquereau's works, and the second is a translation of another. In 1905 her well known *Grammar of Plainsong* was published, soon to be followed by its translation into French, German, and Italian. She was also interested in monastic history, and in 1904 there appeared her volume, *St. Egwin and his Abbey of Evesham*. She became acquainted, in the course of her research and writing, with virtually every musician of note, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, in the field of Gregorian church music and was consulted by scholars from all over the world.

Dame Laurentia's study of mediaeval manuscripts brought her into contact with Sydney Cockerell who shared her interest in them. To their correspondence, covering a period of forty-six years, the books devotes one chapter. It was through him that she met his friend, George Bernard Shaw. Needless to say, her letters to both the humanist and the dramatist show how sharply her views conflicted with theirs, especially on religious matters. The controversy, however, is carried on with courtesy and sincerity. As the *Observer* of London remarked, "Shaw's letters to her run like marsh gas, they are so mischievous and dancing." This book reveals a person with many interests and a large circle of friends. It is described as a "tribute" to Dame Laurentia, who was Abbess of Stanbrook from 1931 to 1953. The reader could wish at times that it were more objective in tone.

DORA J. GUNDERSON

Mercy College

Vatican Journal, 1921-1954. By Anne O'Hare McCormick. Compiled and edited by Marion Turner Sheehan; introduced by Clare Boothe Luce. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1957. Pp. xvii, 238. $4.00.)

The late Anne O'Hare McCormick, as every long-term reader of the New York *Times* well knows, was a reporter of rare perception and ability. Her collected articles on Vatican affairs are few—too few, in fact, to merit their pretentious title—but they are remarkably well spaced in time and worth reacquaintance. Mrs. McCormick, it may be noted, had the benefit of personal audiences with each of the three popes whose reigns

she records. She also, one suspects, cultivated the good offices of more than one knowledgeable monsignor.

The contents of *Vatican Journal* are easily summarized: forty-five articles in all, twenty on the Vatican (some quite short), five on miscellaneous Italian and Church affairs, and twenty spiritual essays of the type which Mrs. McCormick in her later years regularly contributed to the *Times* at Christmas and Easter. The Vatican articles are by far the most rewarding. There is a good description of Benedict XV's last consistory (1921); a shrewd obituary of the same pope (1922); masterly accounts of the Roman Question (1926), the clash with Mussolini over Catholic Action (1931), the Vatican's role in the Ethiopian crisis (1935); and several incisive articles on the present pontificate, concluding with a blunt statement of Vatican displeasure at the General Mark Clark fiasco (1951).

Like all good reporters Mrs. McCormick preserved the flavor of the people and the events with which she dealt. Her descriptions of Benedict XV "drooping under his tiara" and of Pius XI, "not so much austere as habitually serious," are worth pages of conventional biography. But most readers will take greatest interest in the brief account of an audience with the present Holy Father in May, 1939, as the war clouds gathered. Mrs. McCormick had just concluded a long tour of anxiety-ridden world capitals; entering the Vatican seemed to her like coming into another dimension, in which all the conventional scales of power and prestige were reversed. "The Pope," she writes, "spoke as casually and confidently of 'the help of God' as the French speak of the Maginot Line or the Germans of the '150,000,000' iron men, wherever they are, behind the Axis." And so, indeed, he still speaks today.

THOMAS L. LALLEY

Georgetown University

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

The Christian Church in Canada. By H. H. Walsh. (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 355. $6.50.)

This work is billed as a "pioneer attempt to give a complete view of the religious development of Canada." That it does give a valuable survey there can be no doubt. It is both competent and readable. The development of Canada itself has now proceeded so far that such an attempt to construct her denominational history is altogether appropriate. No theological distinctions are made at the outset as to the meaning of the word "church,"

such as is so ably done by Monsignor Journet in his *Church of the Word Incarnate*. The latter notes that historians are given to considering the Church from an exterior, descriptive, and phenomenal standpoint. This is a "material," and not a "formal," way of viewing her. The author is a member of the Anglican clergy and associate professor of church history in McGill University in Montreal. His approach is, in fact, that of the historian. He treats of the various denominations and sects of evangelical Protestantism, his own church, and the Roman Catholic, and he shows easy familiarity with the pertinent literature of all these.

In providing the setting for the story of Canada's churches by linking them with previous Christian development Dr. Walsh walks with a less sure step. He suggests (p. 10) that in a limited way at least John Calvin and Ignatius Loyola are the progenitors of the two basic religious divergencies in Canada today and instances "Blue Laws" in Quebec as stringent as those of New England. The spirit behind whatever blue laws Quebec has is assuredly traceable to Jansenism, the arch-foe of Loyola's French disciples. The opponents of Port-Royal would, indeed, be surprised. Again, to trace the religious revival of seventeenth-century France to Spanish mysticism through Anne of Jesus is certainly an oversimplification (pp. 11-12). It gives no credit to Bérulle and the Oratory nor to Olier and the Sulpicians.

In contrast to church development in the United States the author points out that religion and politics have been closely intertwined in Canadian history. Even the evangelical bodies have accepted state aid and concerned themselves actively with political issues in a way unlike their counterparts in this country. E.g., William Aberhart, Premier of Alberta and head of the Social Credit Party, began his career as a lay Baptist preacher in Calgary. Since few truly great issues have troubled Canadian history the political bickering has centered around relatively minor ones. Noteworthy is the issue of church schools both Catholic and Protestant. This is definitely a part of church history, since the French demanded them and a few non-Catholic bodies, at least, also insisted upon them. New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba are the provinces where the fury was greatest and the religious element most obvious.

Failure to point out deep-seated Protestant prejudice against Catholics is a noteworthy omission in Professor Walsh's volume. The Orange Society founded in Northern Ireland continued its assault on the Church in Canada by directing its attention against the French Catholics of Quebec, especially. The extent of the bitterness engendered by the bigotry of this group is hardly alluded to. The text would likewise have been helped by a map or two and a time chart of leading events. The location of strangely-named places, e.g., Ihontateria, will puzzle many a reader. Typographical

errors are not numerous, but one does find both "Congregationist" and "Congregationalist" on the same page (294), and certainly Monsignor Knox's *Enthusiasm* could not have been published in 1905 (p. 132).

ROBERT E. LAMB

University of Saint Thomas

The Catholic Church in Maine. By William Leo Lucey, S.J. (Francetown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Co. 1957. Pp. xiv, 372. $3.95.)

In view of the memorable contributions of the Jesuits to the Catholic Church in Maine and the many ties between that state and the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester from whose faculty and alumni have come laymen, priests, and bishops prominent in the history of the faith in Maine, it was ideal to select William Leo Lucey, S.J., librarian of Holy Cross, to write this one-volume record and appraisal of the three and one-half centuries of Catholicism in Maine. His work is a highly readable and appealing digest of source material so handled as to give life again to the heroic figures found at every stage in the narration of his subject.

Maine, as so many other mission fields, saw the seed of the faith sown in the blood of missionaries. The memories of the colonial period there recall the pioneers, e.g., Sebastian Rasle, whose sacrifice was the supreme one. The Indian apostolate was never forgotten and the care taken by Bishop Carroll to provide priests for the first-born of the faith is rightly given special emphasis. A bright star in the northern skies in early days was the tolerance shown in Maine, where the state constitution granted religious and political freedom to Catholics.

This history glows with portraits of such personalities as the Irish merchants building families, towns, industries, and churches in the new world. No less fascinating are the studies of the intrepid priests and energetic bishops, constantly on the road, seeking out Catholics in the seacoast towns and the inland villages. It is almost with regret that one finds the story turning from the adventures of the early days to the more prosaic years of organization and steady growth. Nevertheless, before the beginning of the diocesan period, there were the days of Bishop Fenwick's dreams for Benedicta as a farming and college community, never to be realized fully. Then, too, there was the night of terror for Father John B. Bapst in Ellsworth, treated with balance and equity by the author, so that Bapst's courage in celebrating Mass and preaching a brief sermon within hours of his deliverance is made all the more admirable.

Each of the bishops of Portland up to the present day is given due tribute through the indication of the growth of the diocese during each episcopate.

The treatment of personalities continues in rewarding fashion with the presentation of a golden chain of converts, men and women who spread the faith in Maine and beyond their native state. Among them were priests and writers, lay leaders, and newspapermen whose accomplishments prove the strength of the Catholic Church in Maine. The account of one of Bishop Walsh's summers reminds the reader of the living missionary spirit, the spirit of the bishop untiring in his travels to be with his people. In every respect Father Lucey has done justice to the Catholic Church in Maine. He has enhanced the centennial of the diocese with a lasting memorial.

THOMAS F. CASEY

St. Bridget's Church
Framingham Centre, Massachusetts

L'Eglise Canadienne sous le Régime militaire, 1759-1764. I. *Les Problèmes.* By Marcel Trudel. (Ottawa: Les Etudes de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française. 1956. Pp. xxxiii, 362.)

This study traces the fortunes of the Catholic Church in Canada between the surrender of Quebec in September, 1759, and the return of Bishop Briand to Canada in 1765. Because of the devastation wrought in and around Quebec special consideration is accorded to that area. The author, who is professor of history in Laval University, has to his credit a dozen other writings in the general field of Canadian history. Three introductory chapters set forth the terms of the capitulation in regard to the Catholic religion, British army orders in respect to churches and church property, the extent of damages sustained, the conflict between the directives of Bishop Pontbriand to his clergy and the demands of Governor Murray, and the withdrawal of the bishop to Montreal. Among the internal problems raised by the British occupation were the decrease in the number of the clergy, the impoverishment of churches and clergy, and the weakening of ecclesiastical authority which gave opportunity to a few refactory individuals to oppose the bishop or vicar general and to hide behind the British authorities. Moreover, there were the problems of mixed marriages between Canadians and British soldiers and merchants, the commandeering of churches, chapels, religious houses, and hospitals, the interment of Protestants in Catholic cemeteries, and attempts at proselytizing. To these must be added the paradox of the exclusion of Catholics, ninety-nine per cent of the population, from activity in government by the test oath, and the rise to power of a handful of Hugenots.

In Montreal Gage and Montgolfier worked in amicable harmony, but in Quebec Murray precipitated major problems. Intent upon the subjection

of the Church to his exclusive domination and eventually effecting its destruction, he requisitioned church property and continued to hold it after hostilities, assumed the right to control appointments to parishes and the change of pastors, defended clerical recalcitrants, and opposed the election of a bishop to succeed Pontbriand who died in June, 1760. At great length Trudel chronicles the efforts of Murray to thwart the nomination of Montgolfier to the vacant see, and to abolish the bishopric. But laity and clergy collaborated to secure a successor to Pontbriand, and their efforts were crowned with success in the consecration of Briand on March 16, 1765. Murray had overplayed his hand; his star was setting and he was shortly to be replaced by Carleton. Finally, a comparison between the Church in 1759 and 1764 reveals how serious were the losses in effectives.

The nineteen pages of bibliography attest the industry and thoroughness of the author. Naturally he relied on diocesan and parish archives, but he remarks that in some instances he was not accorded the co-operation that the scholar looked for. His study is eminently fair to all parties. In a number of places he dissents from the views of Gosselin. At times, however, his account is repetitious, and at times he likewise belabors points of lesser moment. There is no index, but this defect may be remedied in a second volume on "Institutions" to appear shortly. From these pages Murray emerges as a troublemaker, somewhat of a despot by inclination, impelled by ambition and bigotry. In turn, Briand, in the capacity of vicar general of Quebec, is criticized for being overly conciliatory in his efforts to avoid trouble at all costs, too ready to truckle to Murray, either too cautious and diplomatic or timid to the point of being weak. At the same time he was wholly devoted to his faith and Church, and utterly innocent of ambition for power or dignity. We await the completion of Trudel's investigation in the forthcoming volume on "Institutions."

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

Observations on California, 1772-1790. By Luis Sales, O.P. [Early California Travel Series, XXXVII.] Translated and edited by Charles N. Rudkin. (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson. 1956. Pp. xiii, 218. $10.00.)

When the Jesuits were obliged to leave their missions in Lower California in 1767-1768 their place on that peninsula was taken by Franciscans and Dominicans. Father Sales was one of the first of the Dominican friars to enter this field, coming in 1772 and remaining for almost twenty years. Mr. Rudkin has translated three rather lengthy letters written by Sales from Lower California to an acquaintance in Spain. Since there is no other book written by a contemporary Dominican on that mission field, this volume is a valuable addition to California primary material. Sales had no

illusions about the character of the Indians with whom he had to deal. He branded them as stupid, degraded, lazy, and wanting in reflection. Far less civilized than the Indians in Mexico, those of California had no respect for women, no love for their children, and on the whole lived a degenerate life. Their simplicity or stupidity made them servants of the whims of the fraudulent old men known as *curanderos*. Sales' description of the latter's hoaxes includes an interesting account of the natives' customs, especially those surrounding death and burial. The author was also a first-hand witness of the effects of European diseases on the Indians. He traced the spread of the smallpox epidemic of 1781 from a ship at the Port of Loreto to the peninsula where it took the lives of Christian and heathen natives alike, recalling as well previous epidemics of syphillis and measles which had ravaged the Indians.

Apparently the friar was a bit thin-skinned concerning the amount of work missionaries were reported to be doing. He went to some length to describe their typical activities, and in doing so, he has left an interesting record of the daily program both of the missionaries and of the Indians. The padre had to be the spiritual "father, mother, the servant, the judge, the lawyer, the doctor, and whatever other kinds of craftman [*sic*] there are . . ." (p. 160). An account of the procedure used for beginning a new mission is likewise included in the letters. A suitable location had to be found, the viceroy's consent obtained, alms collected from the other missions, and soldiers procured as a guard for the new foundation. The problem of language had to be met, and Sales included remarks about the native dialects to be found on the peninsula.

The style is quite conversational, and Sales himself acknowledges this. Mr. Rudkin has carried this into his translation, and the effect is a very readable work. A few passages might have been more clearly punctuated, and an occasional proofreader's error may be found, e.g., "they takes captives" (p. 113); "commonity" for "community" (p. 160); a double comma (p. 176). The work is well annotated and indexed, and includes several pages of bibliographical notes.

EUGENE D. BURNETT

Saint Louis, Missouri

The Treasures of Mission Santa Ines, A History and Catalog of the Paintings, Sculpture, and Craft Works. By Kurt Baer (Fresno: Academy of California Church History. 1956. Pp. 323. 109 illustrations. $5.00.)

In the preface of his book Mr. Baer sets forth his plan for this work on the treasures of Santa Ines—"to provide a descriptive catalog . . . and

a study of the paintings and sculpture and other objects that are in the Mission." He accomplishes his goal, particularly with regard to the descriptive catalog. The book is replete with illustrations, there being seventy photographs of the painting and sculpture that form the bulk of the art treasures to be seen at Santa Ines. Some of the photography appears to be lacking in contrast, in sharpness of detail. After visiting the mission, however, one wonders that the photographer was able to attain the measure of success that he did. Age, physical conditions, and lack of care, followed by too vigorous methods of cleaning, have done much to dull the coloring and to blur the outlines of the paintings.

The author comments on those writers who have sacrificed the factual to a measure of the romantic in describing the missions and the work of the missionaries. Possibly in an effort to counteract this failing, in the historical section which precedes the descriptive catalog, he handles his material in a manner that is so coldly objective as to resemble a textbook approach. Nevertheless, the historical survey provides a detailed study of the founding, development, and embellishing of Santa Ines, of the process of secularization, of the long period of decay following, and of the gradual program of restoration and rebuilding now nearing completion. Parallel references to the life history of other missions make it possible for the reader to find in this account a general guide useful in the study of mission establishments elsewhere in California. In the illustrations for the historical section Mr. Baer presents at least nine panoramic views of the mission over the years, besides many other illustrations. This appears to be more than is needed for a book of such size. The author's analysis of the so-called mission style of decoration is interesting and informative; and the relationship of Spanish and Mexican art to mission art is well portrayed. He points out that the greatest interest in Santa Ines has been in the decorations on the walls and in craft work. More than half the illustrations, however, are reproductions of paintings and sculpture.

In the catalog descriptions and studies Mr. Baer brightens up, becomes appreciative of Mexican and California colonial art, and shows himself to be in sympathy with the artists of the mission era. If the reader expects to find names and dates of this period, he will be disappointed. The author claims that although he searched the archives, it was not possible, except in very few instances, to discover artists or dates for the works in the missions, since most of the paintings lack signatures and sculptures were rarely signed during the colonial period. Baer seems to lean somewhat heavily upon Englehardt's comprehensive work on the missions for reference. The volume contains satisfactory commentary and notes to the catalog, a useful glossary, and a listing of about seventy authors of varying merit who have written works on the California missions. In all, Kurt Baer has produced a useful book for students of California art and the

crafts, during the colonial and mission era. The book makes easily accessible to those interested in mission lore pictorial material not ordinarily available.

SISTER ST. FRANCIS SHEERIN

Mount Saint Mary's College
Los Angeles

Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years. By John M. Daley, S.J. (Washington: Georgetown University Press. 1957. Pp. xxi, 324. $5.00.)

In view of the recent controversy over the Catholic intellectual, the history of Catholic education in the United States needs to be re-examined. The strictest scrutiny will have to be given to the beginning of higher education among American Catholics from the founding of Georgetown to the founding of her neighbor, the Catholic University of America. Father Daley, in recounting the early years of Georgetown, does not try to glamorize the difficult conditions under which the college began under the former Jesuits aided by Sulpicians. The early story of Georgetown has few dramatic moments, except for the changing of early presidents and the restoration of the Jesuits. The author first reviews in brief the educational history of the Church in the Maryland colony and in the early Diocese of Baltimore because, with the Sulpician seminary in Baltimore, Georgetown was the center of Catholic education and the hope for the future Church of the nation. Bishop Carroll, one of the best educated clergymen of revolutionary America by reason of his position of religious superior of the post-war mission and first bishop and, too, because of his own personal interest, is rightly called the first founder of Georgetown. Father Daley outlines the close detail with which Carroll planned his college. The early rectors were scarcely of Carroll's dimensions nor were the students quite as numerous as Carroll had hoped.

The period immediately before the coming of Father John Grassi in 1812 was a dark one for the institution. Georgetown was away from the new centers of Catholic population, and that population was quite small before the later immigration. Lack of teachers, failure to attract students, and disagreements on policy brought the college to such a critical stage before the arrival of Grassi that he is called here the second founder. In the later chapters the efforts of the Jesuits to install the traditional classical program, which was to be the basic course of all American Catholic liberal arts education until the twentieth century, is narrated. As in most accounts of early Catholic higher education in this country, Father Daley does not relate how successful were the efforts to bring the American youngster up to this program or how far it had to be lowered to their level. All in all,

this carefully documented account tells of an educational beginning in hardships that were a far cry from the present-day Georgetown. Much of what Father Daley says is not new because the early Georgetown story was intimately bound up with the first bishop and the Maryland colony. But he has told the story of Georgetown as the foundation of an institution which was important chiefly as the forerunner and the pattern of Catholic higher education in the United States. The hero of these latter days undoubtedly was Father Thomas Mulledy, S.J. With his efforts Georgetown assumed the character found in most American Catholic colleges of the nineteenth century.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

La Santa Sede y la Emancipación Hispanoamericana. By Guillermo Furlong, S.J. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Theoria. 1957. Pp. 155.)

Since 1871 Spanish Americans have warmly debated the attitude of the Holy See toward the wars for independence. Discussion has centered essentially around an encyclical of Leo XII which was unfavorable to the American cause. Anti-Catholic writers have asserted that Vatican condemnation of American independence was natural because the rebels were fighting for democracy, and democracy and Catholicism are incompatible. On the defensive, some Catholics have dismissed the encyclical as spurious, while others have felt that the Spanish court altered the original text before distributing it. Between 1924 and 1955, however, Father Pedro de Leturia, a Spanish Jesuit who later became Dean of the Faculty of Church History in the Gregorian University, published the results of his research in the papal archives and those of the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican. He confirmed the authenticity of the brief and the existence of Spanish pressure for its release, but he also revealed how Leo XII successfully avoided Spain's request for an exhortation to the colonists to submit to Ferdinand VII. As Leturia's findings are relatively unknown in Argentina, Father Guillermo Furlong, an Argentine Jesuit, has written the present volume to popularize them there.

Once he has rapidly reviewed the literature on papal policy toward Spanish America, the author of the book under review examines the thesis that Catholicism and democracy are irreconcilable. This is false, he maintains with justice, for the Jesuits in Spain's colonies supported and encouraged the independence movement, and the revolutionary leaders were influenced more by Jesuit teachings than by the French Revolution. He then follows Leturia's analysis of the American policy of the Holy See. Pius

VII evidently favored the rebel cause in 1813, but the association of democracy with irreligion caused him to endorse legitimacy as the only safeguard of religion. For this reason, when the American rebellion seemed crushed in 1816, he spontaneously issued an encyclical urging Americans in the interest of peace to obey the king. Within the next six years he acquired a better understanding of the revolution and began to treat the new American governments as independent nations. Why his successor, Leo XII, drafted and signed the encyclical of 1824, however, is not clear. Leturia's reasonable explanation is that Leo XII imprudently acceded to Spain's demands, later recognized his error, and sought to avoid discussing political matters in the brief.

Father Furlong's lucid summary of Leturia's work supplements the excellent chapter on papal relations during the wars for independence in J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations* (Chapel Hill, 1934). This book certainly deserves to be read by all interested in Church-State relations.

JOSEPH T. CRISCENTI

Boston College

Notices & Voyages of the Famed QUEBEC MISSION to the Pacific Northwest. Translated and edited by Carl Landerholm. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society. 1956. Pp. iv, 243. $12.50.)

In 1834, and again in 1835, French Canadians in the Willamette Valley petitioned bishops in eastern Canada for priests who might help them to renew the practice of their religion and to instruct and baptize their wives and children. But it was not until 1838 that Bishop Joseph Signay of Quebec completed arrangements to send the two missionaries, Fathers Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, to the Pacific Northwest. This volume contains a first-hand account of the years, 1838 to 1847, taken from the letters and reports that the missionaries wrote and sent to their ecclesiastical superior in Quebec. It recounts months of almost ceaseless activity during which the priests traveled constantly in order to familiarize themselves with the country and its inhabitants. During the first year Blanchet and Demers visited each little settlement of whites and began the wider task of acquainting themselves with the Indians. They had been encouraged by the enthusiastic reception they received from them on the journey to the West and they hoped that they might follow up that manifestation of interest and easily win the Indians to the practice of Christianity. But as the months moved on they realized that unaided they could not meet the demands of the work to be done and they petitioned for help.

New missionaries did come and eventually in response to urgings on the part of the missionaries and of American and Canadian bishops a vicariate apostolic was erected in the Pacific Northwest.

Such in bald outline is the story. Actually it is filled with amazing detail. Nothing was too small to interest the missionaries and the account that they give, far from being dull, is often fascinating. There are minute descriptions of the Indians, their manners and customs, their attitude toward Christianity, their puzzlement and lack of sustained response. Personalities and activities at the fur trading posts and pioneer Oregon settlements are vividly portrayed and the reader comes into contact with Dr. John McLoughlin and his close associates, Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas; with that dynamic and tireless representative of Hudson's Bay Company officialdom, George Simpson; with an ever-increasing number of Americans. American interest in the Northwest had been awakened before the Canadian missionaries arrived and the growing number of settlers and missionaries from the United States caused them consternation and alarm. Consequent misunderstandings are faithfully recorded, albeit from one side of the picture. In 1846 when the Oregon Country was divided between the United States and Great Britain an ecclesiastical province was erected with Francis Norbert Blanchet as its first archbishop. Assisting him in administration were the newly appointed bishops, A. M. A. Blanchet, his brother, and his companion of the early years, Modeste Demers.

Carl Landerholm has done a real service in translating from the French these narratives of eight arduous, often harrowing years of life in the Oregon Country. To anyone who is interested in the history of the Pacific Northwest this volume is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject since it reveals not only the interplay of religious influences but gives a picture of political and social forces as well. Life on the Oregon frontier lives again as the missionaries travel throughout the Northwest. The translation is well done, although occasionally it reveals a lack of familiarity with Catholic idiom. The question occurs as to why the French form of Blanchet's name, "François Norbet," is kept throughout, and why "Monseigneur," as the title of address to the bishop, could not have been translated.

The volume is an attractive one with its cover a scene from early fur trading days. The reproductions of Fort Vancouver, of the pioneer bishops, of the Catholic Ladder, that always interesting device worked out by Father Blanchet to assist him in presenting religious truths to the Indians, all add to the value of the volume. There are likewise an excellent index, an adequate introduction, and a map of the Territory of Oregon in 1838. Some explanatory notes are tucked away in the back which might have been expanded with some profit to the reader. But these are small points.

On the whole the work is well done and these early documents of Catholic Northwest history, now for the first time made available for general use, will be much appreciated.

SISTER LETITIA MARY LYONS

Holy Names College

Philippine Duchesne, Frontier Missionary of the Sacred Heart, 1769-1852. By Louise Callan, R.S.C.J. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 805. $8.00.)

This welcome book by the professor of American history at Maryville College, St. Louis, is the fruit of a decade of dedicated scholarship. The latest of four or five biographies of Mother Duchesne, it appears to warrant the accolade "definitive." Through it the author fulfills several cherished ambitions: primarily, she glorifies the Sacred Heart and in so doing signalizes the chief spiritual endeavor of her order; next, she reveals, as no previous writer has done, the real Philippine Duchesne, beatified in 1940 by Pope Pius XII; and, thirdly, she furnishes students of American church history with the open sesame to a treasure house of source material hitherto sealed in Roman archives. The narrative, unfolding in two logical series of chapters aligned in admirable proportion, records the French revolutionary disappointments of its subject and her American frontier trials and triumphs. The first series covers Philippine's European life, the intensive preparation for her overseas missionary enterprise, and her voyage to Missouri via New Orleans in 1818; the remainder of the work details her thirty-four years of service in the Mississippi Valley. Numerous illustrations that illuminate her old and new world careers are grouped near the center of the volume, and appendixes print charts and letters of special reference value.

The use Mother Callan has made of her sources compels unstinted praise. The present reviewer, who was privileged to sift them for items of Vincentian interest, can vouch for her scrupulous fidelity in reproducing their content. Filial pruning and unobjective puffing have alike been scorned. Alterations are introduced solely to expunge minor inaccuracies certain to puzzle unless meticulously annotated. The upshot of such expert handling is that Mother Duchesne emerges with satisfying completeness and consistent vividness through her journals and letters, ably translated from the French. Often in the American portion of the chronicle she is wisely allowed to tell her own story. Paramount in her communications are religious conditions, the mission entrusted to her and its needs, and her ascetical growth. Yet she reserves ample space for miniatures, cameo-like and unforgettable, of the people who entered her busy life—Bishops DuBourg and Rosati, priests, nuns, benefactors, friends, pupils, slaves,

and Indians. Mirroring what she saw and echoing what she heard each day, she sometimes purveys information uncritically or confusedly; but a high percentage of her frontier reporting is significant, reliable, and enlightening. As a correspondent, too, she exhibits pleasing literary kinship with Madame de Sévigné, for optimistic gaiety and a piquant wit that shades quietly into irony are characteristic of her mind, while spontaneity and a fluent aptness distinguish her style. Mother Callan's own literary proficiency establishes her as a master of interpretative paraphrase. Readers will temper the modesty of the preface in ascribing in generous measure the quality of her writing to a colleague, "who read each chapter . . . to insure that the medium used for the portrait was pure, though plain as Philippine herself"; and they will see in the adjective "plain" synonyms like "unambiguous" and "without affectation" rather than its everyday meaning of "deficient in charm and beauty"—a sense of the term that is patently inapplicable to Philippine in any category of appraisal.

Substantial books are rarely free of imperfections. In this volume a few mistakes appear, not in the narrative but in explanatory annotations, as incidental blemishes derived from superseded encyclopedic data. E.g., recent research has provided two corrections for note 38, page 774: John Timon, Bishop of Buffalo, was ordained to the priesthood on September 23, 1826, not "in June, 1825"; and instead of refusing the prefectship apostolic of Texas he held it through 1839-1841. Students eager to follow up the primary and secondary materials of this study may well reprobate the current excessive production costs which forced the publishers to exclude a formal bibliography. For the same reason nearly fifty pages of notes are massed at the end of the text, an arrangement that undeniably makes them somewhat difficult of access. But these discomforts are compensated in part by the typographical merits. The Newman Press has issued a masterly specimen of craftsmanship set in an inviting linotype face, compact yet distinct. Appreciation is in order, too, for the heavy sacrifices involved in marketing a lengthy, liberally illustrated work in hagiography whose sale price is fixed at less than one cent a page. May the many purchases cancel the publishing risk while applauding the fine achievement of Mother Callan.

RALPH F. BAYARD

Kenrick Seminary

Milestones of Mercy: Story of the Sisters of Mercy in St. Louis, 1856-1956. By Sister Mary Isidore Lennon, R.S.M. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1957. Pp. x, 323. $6.00.)

Another chapter in the history of religious missionary forces of the Church in the United States has been written. In *Milestones of Mercy*

Sister Mary Isidore traces the establishment of the St. Louis Province of the Sisters of Mercy over a period of one hundred years, 1856-1956. The pattern of growth is a familiar one: from a small band of sisters dispensing charity in the poorest section of the city, the religious community expands into a well-organized province operating the most modern schools, homes, and hospitals in an area extending far beyond the bounds of St. Louis, as far distant, in fact, as British Honduras and British Guiana. The step-by-step narration of this familiar development does not impress the reader as much as the impact of the contrast between the pioneer community of 1856 and its modern counterpart of 1956. In fact, this over-all impression is probably one of the chief values the book has for the general reader, for much of the contents is focused on details of interest primarily to a limited reading audience. But the facts recorded are realistic, true, and carry a dignity worthy of the heroic women of whose story they are warp and woof. The author makes no claim to be writing "history in the true sense of the word," but she does base her work on primary sources wherever such were available. That the sources are fragmentary at times is understandable, for keeping records and preserving archival materials have seldom been major concerns of zealous pioneers, particularly those of religious congregations.

In her opening chapters the author sketches the historic founding of the Sisters of Mercy in Ireland by Mother Catherine McAuley, the first establishment of the congregation in the United States, and the opening of the St. Louis mission. In this part of the narrative, as also in several other places, the author merely touches on historic events with which the congregation is involved. The early work among the immigrants and the Negroes is mentioned, the contributions of the sisters to the Civil War is briefly indicated, as is their aid given during the cholera and the influenza epidemics. No doubt the historian will wish that these sections had been more fully developed. The burden of the book is concerned with a detailed account of the institutions of the community and the various undertakings the sisters have engaged in since 1856. Apportioning a separate chapter to each type of service—education, child welfare, visits to homes, hospitals —tends to break the continuity of thought and to throw emphasis on the works rather than on the tremendous development of the religious community. Both the number and amazing variety of charitable endeavors the Sisters of Mercy inaugurated in the early years of their apostolate would challenge present day school, hospital, and social work staffs.

SISTER MARY CAROL SCHROEDER

Marian College
Indianapolis

Kansas Monks: A History of St. Benedict's Abbey. By Peter Beckman, O.S.B. (Atchison: Abbey Student Press. 1957. Pp. 362. $5.00.)

The history of the sons of St. Benedict in the United States has been enriched within the past four years by the publication of centennial volumes from the pens of three outstanding Benedictine historians: Albert Kleber in his *History of St. Meinrad Archabbey, 1854-1954* (St. Meinrad, 1954) wrote of the foundation in Indiana from Einsiedeln, Switzerland, while Colman Barry in *Worship and Work: St. John's Abbey and University, 1856-1956* (Collegeville, 1956) detailed the story of the Minnesota foundation, the eldest daughter of the American Cassinese Congregation at Latrobe, Pennsylvania. The third in the trilogy commemorates the monastic foundation in Kansas in Father Peter Beckman's recent work.

Abbot Boniface Wimmer, founder of the American Benedictines, has been called at various times a dreamer, a visionary, and an ecclesiastical adventurer more interested in materialism than in the spiritual aspects of his ventures. Yet his foresight and understanding of the American spirit cannot be challenged when it is remembered that he said, "the stream of migration is tending westward and we must follow it." He realized the importance of meeting the challenges of the frontier when he wanted to make his monasteries spiritual centers comparable to the military installations then in process of erection in Minnesota and Kansas. At a time when requests from members of the hierarchy in Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin had to go unanswered, a combination of circumstances focused Wimmer's attention on Kansas. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 had promptly made Kansas the bone of contention between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces. Accompanying one such group was the Benedictine Father Henry Lemcke, "missionary extraordinary," a colorful figure in western Pennsylvania history as assistant to the Russian prince, Demetrius Gallitzin. Father Lemcke, a restless and extremely individualistic monk, was not in good standing with his ecclesiastical superiors when he left for the West. He was to be an instrument, nevertheless, of the providence of God in bringing the Benedictine Fathers to Kansas. The first bishop in Kansas, John B. Miège, S.J., requested others and Abbot Wimmer sent Father Augustine Wirth and a theologian ready for ordination. They arrived on April 9, 1857.

The first few decades of Benedictine activity were discouraging in that little progress—material or spiritual—was evident during that period. Kansas did not seem to be a favorite project of Abbot Wimmer. His interest lay more in the possibility of expansion to California, to Texas, to Canada, and especially to Minnesota. Father Augustine complained bitterly to him that Kansas was treated like a stepchild. "You have done more than is right," he said, "for Minnesota but nothing, nothing for

Kansas." Meanwhile attempts were made to stabilize the venture by missions to the scattered settlers, by land transactions, and by establishing a frontier "college." Funds were solicited from eastern sources as well as from the foreign missionary societies such as the Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Assurance was given to the bishop that the college would become a center for the education of both secular and religious clergy, although the curriculum was scanty and it was almost an impossibility to staff the school. Another effort was made to establish a "Christian Fort" in southwestern Kansas where it was thought that proximity to the western cattle trail would enable the missionaries to purchase young calves at a nominal cost and thus provide a source of income for the Atchison priory. The project failed miserably and the missionaries were brought back to Atchison to engage in more prosaic occupations such as teaching. Ultimately the priory was raised to the dignity of an abbey by an apostolic brief of Pope Pius IX on April 7, 1876, with the Reverend Innocent Wolf as abbot. According to the author, credit for the stability that allowed this step was due to Oswald Moosmueller who, it is said, "brought back into the realm of the possible a program for the development of future members and for the growth of the community with new stress on the spiritual aspects of the religious life."

Father Beckman has aimed to portray the distinctive character of the Kansas community by writing its history around the lives of the men who founded the house, the kind of work they did, and the circumstances in which they lived—all as modified by the personalities, interests, work, and circumstances of their successors. With this in mind he has treated in considerable detail Henry Lemcke, Augustine Wirth, Innocent Wolf, Martin Veth, and to a lesser degree of the present Abbot Cuthbert McDonald. Minutiae, usually carefully interwoven into the general story, occasionally leads the reader astray from more important details. The author seems to delight in dwelling on the foibles rather than on the virtues of the monks of St. Benedict's, an approach that leaves the average reader with an incomplete picture of the struggles, the heroism in spite of human weaknesses, and the courage to go on against apparently unsurmountable obstacles. The present status of St. Benedict's is ample evidence of these qualities which have not been brought out too explicitly in this work. Nor is the spiritual life of the community given the attention it should receive, which is also true of the place of Kansas Benedictinism in its relation to other groups of the same order in this country. Religious history cannot be written in a vacuum apart from the influences of the locale in which it is made. Kansas history and the history of St. Benedict's have been more closely inter-related than is indicated here. The college, e.g., has made a definite impact on the educational life of the state, and the

joint educational program with its sister college, Mount Saint Scholastica, is worthy of more than a mere mention. The abbey furnished the second bishop to the state in the person of Louis M. Fink whose diocese, embracing all of Kansas, was tied into Benedictine history.

Father Beckman has based his work almost entirely on primary sources, and he includes a list of archival centers in his introduction. But there is no critical essay on this material nor is there a bibliography of the secondary sources used. The illustrations are good and the end pages excellent. In spite of these limitations, *Kansas Monks* is an important addition to the growing history of Catholicism in the United States.

SISTER M. EVANGELINE THOMAS

Marymount College
Salina

With Lamps Burning. By Sister M. Grace McDonald, O.S.B. (St. Joseph: Minnesota: St. Benedict's Priory Press. 1957. Pp. 329. $5.00.)

The author of this interesting volume has successfully accomplished the objective stated in her preface, viz., "to trace the growth of the Convent of St. Benedict in St. Joseph, Minnesota, from its establishment to the present time." As the record unfolds it becomes evident how truly this foundation followed the spirit of St. Benedict in adjusting to the conditions of the frontier and in adapting itself to seize the many new opportunities for service offered by a rapidly developing country.

The volume is divided into four parts; the first three tell the continuous story of the growth and development of St. Benedict Convent. The fourth gives a more detailed account of the various types of institutions operated by the community from the 1870's to the present time. The first two chapters of part one trace the European origin of the Pennsylvania foundation which, in turn, served as the sponsor of the first small group of Benedictines to make the new foundation in Minnesota. The story of the community's subsequent hardships and insecurity, and the misunderstandings between those in authority, runs true to form for the majority of communities of religious women in the United States in the nineteenth century. The added physical danger from Indians was peculiar to foundations on the frontier of the 1850's. The difficulty of these pioneer sisters in finding acceptance as teachers by Catholic people in certain areas of Minnesota is a far cry from the present day when parishes in Minnesota and elsewhere erect new schools but cannot find sisters to conduct them.

The record from 1880 to the close of the century indicates a definite upward trend toward security and well-being for the Benedictine Sisters. In these twenty years new opportunities for service included the great apostolate of the Indian missions and the inauguration of hospital work. On the solid rock of sacrifice and struggle endured by the pioneers of the nineteenth century, St. Benedict's has built well in the twentieth. During these fifty-seven years it has deepened and expanded its educational effort, participated in the contemporary liturgical movement, and answered the call to the foreign and home missions. The cultural and spiritual influence radiating from this Benedictine center can be no more than suggested by these achievements.

The final chapter in the story of the Convent of St. Benedict treats the long quest for that stability which came with its approval by Rome with the Decree of Praise received in 1947. The division of the Convent of St. Benedict into three priories followed, and in 1956 final approval was given to the Congregation of St. Benedict. The format of the volume is attractive. The several maps locating the many schools and institutions help one to visualize the extent to which the little Minnesota mission of 1857 has grown in a century.

SISTER M. ROSALITA KELLY

Marygrove College

The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America. By Robert D. Cross. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 328. $5.50.)

The internal struggles of the American Church in the late nineteenth century are a familiar story because of the work of Ellis, Zwierlein, and Browne, the volumes on the Catholic University of America, and many others. Now Robert D. Cross, an historian at Swarthmore College and a non-Catholic, dissects those struggles topically. Though he does not add any strikingly new conclusions, his terse summary of the issues and his thorough review of the secondary, and especially of the periodical, material put this book in the front rank of those studies. Given slippery terms like "liberal" and "conservative," the author does his best to hold to definitions which are themselves slippery. Liberals were "a group of clergy and laity anxious to promote a friendly interaction between their religion and American life," even though this meant a "coherent challenge . . . to traditional Catholic folkways." Here were the conservatives: "Hostile to the Protestant majority, suspicious of governmental enterprise, and averse to the active, melioristic spirit of the times, these Catholics met secular culture so far as possible only on their own terms."

Since Mr. Cross argues that the conservatives operated by procrastination and non-co-operation, sallying forth only when necessary, the liberals take up most of his attention. They sought to make Catholicism attractive to prospective converts from Protestantism. They mediated between traditional principles and the American practice of separation of Church and State. They led Catholics to accept democratic political institutions and trained them to think of reform movements as proper activities and of the state as a benevolent instrument for social change. Unafraid of contemporary currents of thought, they welcomed a confident participation in intellectual life as a "powerful apologetic for Catholicism." When the liberals appeared to go too far, they were caught up short by Rome.

Mr. Cross devotes nine chapters to these topics. A preliminary chapter, "Catholicism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe," opens the book, and a breezy bit of impressionism entitled "Liberal Catholicism in the Twentieth Century" closes it. The first of these raises a serious question without answering it. European Catholic liberals looked west for inspiration, for the American Church seemed to practice what European liberals preached. Yet, as Mr. Cross recognizes several times, what they saw was frequently a projected mirage, not reality. Because of this illusion, America and "Americanism" have a distinct place in a study of European Catholic liberalism. But the relevance of European liberalism to the Catholic Church in the United States is a great deal more complex, and Mr. Cross never works out an explanation of how the material in this chapter relates to the rest of his book.

One other objection seems to me to be more basic. As a foil to Catholic culture, Mr. Cross sets up a monolithic "American culture" which lends itself readily to discussion but does violence to its many diverse elements (not excluding Catholicism itself). Similarly a too easy reference to "traditional Catholic folkways" overlooks the variety within the Church.

Despite the quality of the book, Mr. Cross' scalp is in danger. The term "liberal Catholicism" invokes memories of modernism, and American Catholics who are also liberals may well bridle at the term. Nor will they like the term "Americanist" applied to them (p. 205). Conservatives will be pleased even less, for at the end of at least three chapters (VII, VIII, XI), the palm is handed to the liberals somewhat more confidently than the evidence at hand justifies. This book will keep sparks flying for a while. Already I have heard Catholic scholars rate the book as "admirable" and as "diabolical." Mr. Cross can enjoy the battle. It confirms the significance of the material his monograph reviews so skillfully.

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK

Phillips Exeter Academy

Democracy and Catholicism in America. By Currin V. Shields. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1958. Pp. ix, 310. $5.00.)

Professor Shields has written an unusual book. It is notable as one written by a non-Catholic which attempts seriously to state Catholic positions in political theory. While it is not a direct reply to the works of bigotry, it is, nevertheless, such an answer because it recognizes that a Catholic position is entitled to scholarly treatment in political science. But this work is to be remarked on a second ground because of its vigorous re-examination of the nature of liberalism and democracy. These three objectives of inquiry—the political theory of Catholics, liberals, and democrats—march forward through the book side by side, or by irregular jumps.

The author's position may be stated as follows. The political theory of Catholicism, which he says was shaped on a mediaeval foundation, is contradicted by liberalism, which has been in its roots anti-religious in theme and temper. However, democracy is defined in the Greek and historic sense as a means by which a group reaches decisions through an accepted political equality, majority rule, and popular sovereignty. There is no conflict between democracy and Catholic social and political theory, but liberalism stands in opposition both to democracy and to Catholic ideas. In one moment of the book Shields says that the democrat rejects "the liberal belief that authority should be exercised by a few [an elite] for the benefit of a middle class" (p. 159). To this reviewer, the author seems to imply that liberals have a vested interest in being confused with democrats, while democrats must be conscious that they are not liberals in order to witness to their integrity. Catholics may or may not be democrats, but like the democrats they are not able to be liberals.

Still, the reasons are different. The Catholic is not a liberal because liberals would destroy the Church if they could. Democrats see no reason for the separation of citizens from a governing elite and in this they opposed liberalism, e.g., the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian struggle against the Federalists. Both democrats and Catholics are likely to be more concerned than the liberal with a social program for general welfare and the common good. Others more concerned with saving the good name of liberalism will no doubt go to its defense, saying it is the matrix, the system of pre-conditions, that makes the democratic decision-making process possible.

In this REVIEW, however, further comments on the treatment of the Catholic Church are in order. It is the nuance and the all-too-often presence of the burning issue that the Catholic will miss, the nuance that may arise both from living around the parish pump and from some knowledge of the vast and complicated history of the Roman Church. One misses in Shields' book St. Thomas' doctrine of participation and his theory of the mixed constitution, which includes by right a democratically controlled segment

of power; the firm development of the doctrine of consent and popular sovereignty in Catholic thought, say in Suárez and Bellarmine; and a lucid recognition that the government of the Church, being divinely ordained for the Church, is not a model for the civil polity (p. 171), the form of which arises from the consent of men.

One may forgive some evasiveness by the author on the Catholic Church's assertion of its continuity from the first foundations of the Christian order of life. Shields at times identifies the Church with the Middle Ages, and sometimes with the centuries before (pp. 1, 4, 73, 88, 135, 140, 253, 255). The Catholic will appreciate especially his treatment of Catholic social principles, of Catholic corporativism, social action, and Christian democratic parties in Europe (pp. 83 ff.). Perhaps, the author might have noted with Maritain that much of the liberty of the Christian, who is also a citizen, arises from the creative search for means to attain rational ends, and that this is often Catholic wisdom and prudence.

FRANCIS G. WILSON

University of Illinois

NOTES AND COMMENTS

On July 7, 1858, an agreement was signed between John Hughes, Archbishop of New York, and four convert priests, led by Isaac Thomas Hecker, which brought into existence the Congregation of Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle. With this act there was born the first native religious congregation for men in the United States, a group that has grown during the past century to over 230 priests with approximately 150 novices and students in the congregation's preparatory and major seminaries. The Paulist Fathers, as they are familiarly known, have twenty-seven houses spread through twenty-one dioceses of this country, as well as a house in Toronto, Canada, Johannesburg, South Africa, and the Church of Santa Susanna in Rome. The monthly magazine, the *Catholic World*, which was launched by Hecker in April, 1865, has had an unbroken record of publication and has meanwhile been joined by a number of other publications which issue regularly from the Paulist Press. The apostolate to non-Catholic Americans, which was at the heart of Hecker's original plan, is served today by twelve mission bases, seven information centers in large cities, forty-two Newman Foundations at secular colleges and universities, and fifteen parishes under the care of the congregation, along with the mission bases, information centers, and parishes abroad. Through these means the Paulists maintain the purpose defined by their founder and expressed only four years after he had become a Catholic (August 2, 1844) when he stated that he felt his vocation was "to labor for the conversion of my non-Catholic fellow countrymen." In commemoration of the centennial two works are scheduled to appear within a short time. One will be a biography of the founder by Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P., author of *The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker, 1819-1844* (Washington, 1939), and another will be a popular history of the congregation by James A. McVann, C.S.P.

On November 19 the Sulpician Fathers of Baltimore and their alumni will hold their annual meeting at St. Mary's Seminary on Paca Street in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the famous old chapel. The chapel, designed by Maximilian Godefroy (d. 1824), who taught at St. Mary's College and who also designed the Battle Monument and Unitarian Church in Baltimore, was the first church of the Gothic Revival in the United States. Benjamin Latrobe, with whom Godefroy was closely associated and who was at the same time working on the Cathedral of the Assumption, learned of the progress made on the Paca Street chapel and

in a letter from Pittsburgh he remarked: "I understand that it has at last like a butterfly crawled out of its chrysalis into a state of exquisite beauty . . . alas, what will become of my cathedral? If ever it rises to a perceptible elevation above the ground, so as to overlook the buildings toward the college, it will sink again into the earth with envy of its child, the College Chapel!" [Richard Hubbard Howland *et al., The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 40.] The structure had been sufficiently completed by Holy Week of 1808 to hold the services there, but the formal dedication did not take place until June 16, the feast of Corpus Christi, when Archbishop Carroll celebrated the first pontifical Mass in the new sanctuary. The chapel has not only served the Sulpicians and their seminarians up to the present time, but until 1877 it was likewise used by the laity of the neighborhood as a parish church, and for some years there were two congregations who met there regularly, one white and one Negro. On the day of the dedication Mrs. Elizabeth Bayley Seton, founder of the first native American religious community for women, arrived in Baltimore to begin her work, and she was present at the ceremony. The old chapel has been the scene of numerous ecclesiastical functions of an historic character for the American Church and it is a place of frequent pilgrimage for visitors to Baltimore. Among the foreign visitors who came to St. Mary's Chapel in the early years was Mrs. Frances Trollope who, after describing the garden surrounding the building, remarked: "The little chapel itself has the same touching and impressive character. A solitary lamp hangs before the altar; the light of day enters dimly yet richly through crimson curtains, and the silence. . . . had something in it more calculated to generate holy thoughts than even the swelling anthems heard beneath the resounding dome of St. Peters." [*Domestic Manners of Americans* (London, 1832), p. 170.]

"Asia and Future World Leadership" was the theme of the sixty-second annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science held in Philadelphia on April 11-12. Many of the papers featured a vigorous dissent from present United States policy toward Asian nations. Former Secretary of the Air Force, Thomas K. Finletter, criticized our emphasis on militaristic policies to the neglect of economic aid. Asia's economic and social problems and the case for Asian neutralism were presented forcefully by the Indian and Indonesian Ambassadors to the United States. The stormiest session, however, centered around U Thant, Ambassador of Burma to the United Nations, who launched an aggressive defense of Burma's uncommitted position, coupled with a vehement denouncement of the refusal of the United States to recognize Red China and an alarmingly unrealistic interpretation of Russia's past deeds and present intentions. James P. Warburg, American author and lecturer,

likewise assailed our refusal to recognize Communist China. The paper of You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States, was alone in its recognition of Communism as an essentially evil system with which there can be no compromise. Asia's ever increasing population problems, its economic potential and intellectual progress, and its religious and linguistic differences were subjects of other papers, while Chitra M. Fernando, Eisenhower exchange fellow from Ceylon, gave an interesting analysis of the political, cultural, and religious roots of Asian xenophobia directed against the West. Probably the most impressive truths to emerge from the discussions were the magnitude of Asia's problems and the absolute need for American help in moving, however slowly, toward a solution of such problems. The American Catholic Historical Association was represented at the meeting by Edward T. Hughes, Vice Rector of St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia.

The biennial meeting of the National Historical Publications Commission was held in Washington on June 17 with informal conferences devoted to an exchange of views among the editors concerning the problems relating to the edition of the papers of a number of outstanding Americans. At midday the commission was host at a luncheon served in the old Supreme Court chamber of the Capitol where the 100 or more guests heard addresses from the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Chief Justice of the United States, and a message from the President.

Saint Meinrad Essays of Saint Meinrad Seminary is sponsoring an essay contest among major seminarians of the United States (not candidates for or holders of an M.A. or Ph.D. degree). The subject of the essay, not to exceed 5,000 words in length, may be any person, place, or event in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The essay need not be based upon original source materials, although the use of such sources will give it added value. Prizes of $150 for the first essay, $100 for the second, and $50 for the third will be awarded to the winners, and the essays will be judged by J. Herman Schauinger of the College of St. Thomas, Annabelle M. Melville of the State Teachers College, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and the managing editor of the REVIEW. All entries must be postmarked not later than February 1, 1959, to receive consideration.

In 1957 the University of Innsbruck celebrated the centenary of its inception as a theological faculty after the restoration of the Society of Jesus in Austria. A commemorative issue prepared by the editors of the *Zeit-*

schrift für Katholische Theologie has recently appeared that contains several articles reviewing its remarkable history. The university had its origins in the college opened in Innsbruck by St. Peter Canisius in 1562 at the request of Emperor Ferdinand I. During the next century the program of studies was widened into a *studium universale,* and in 1677 the customary rights and privileges of a university were granted by Pope Innocent XI and Emperor Leopold I. Innsbruck prospered until the reign of Joseph II, and after the departure of the Jesuits in 1773, the theological faculty became a center of Josephist and Gallican sympathies, and was finally suppressed in 1782. In 1857 the Prince-Bishop of Brixen re-established a theology department and entrusted it to the Jesuits. The crises of the next hundred years are outlined in a full and interesting narrative by Hugo Rahner, who has lectured in ecclesiastical history at Innsbruck for the last twenty years. Appended to this commemorative issue is a chronological list of all the professors where names will be found that have long been familiar in historical and theological scholarship, e.g., Hartman Grisar, J. Biederlack, H. Noldin, J. Jungmann, L. Lercher, L. Fonck, B. Franzelin, etc.

The standard works on the struggle between the Church and the Prussian government, viz., Georges Goyau's, *Bismarck et l'église: le Kulturkampf* (4 vols., 1911), and Johann Kissling's, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reich* (3 vols., 1911-1916), have now been complemented by Adelheid Constabel's, *Die Vorgeschichte des Kulturkampfes* (Berlin: Rütten und Loening, 1956, 367 pp.), which publishes for the first time documents from the Prussian Secret Archives covering the period July, 1870-December, 1872.

Johann Loserth published a treatise in 1884 entitled *Hus und Wiclif, Zur der Husitischen Lehre,* in which he concluded that the *De ecclesia* of Hus contained "hardly a line that does not come from Wiclif." This scholarly work helped fix the notion that the Czech rebellion was in ideology at least merely transplanted Lollardy. S. Harrison Thomson, who studied in Prague under the able historian Václav Novatný, checked the majority of MSS, a project that the interruptions of World War II extended into twenty years, and edited a critical text of the *De ecclesia* (*Magistri Johannis Hus Tractatus de Ecclesia.* Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1956). He has discovered that only about one-twelfth derives from various works of the English reformer, and if the quotations from Scripture, canon law, and patristic literature are excepted, the quantity of borrowed material can be reduced to one-twentieth. This

is significant not so much in absolving Hus from wholesale plagiarism, a practice common and accepted in the Middle Ages, but in further clarifying and readjusting our judgments concerning the issues that became overwhelmingly important to the patriotic Bohemian nobles at the fateful Council of Constance.

One of the last publications of Carlos E. Castañeda (cf. obituary notice in this issue) was an article entitled "The Woman in Blue," in the January-February number of the *Age of Mary*. This entire issue is devoted to articles on Sister Mary of Jesus of Agreda, author of the *Mystical City of God* and thought by many to have carried on missionary activity among the Indians of Texas during the seventeenth century by means of the miracle of bilocation. Professor Castañeda also served as co-editor, along with Thomas E. Cotner, of a volume of essays on Mexican history in homage to the late Charles Wilson Hackett, first director of the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas. The first copy of his work, entitled *Essays in Mexican History*, was presented to Professor Hackett's widow at a luncheon in Austin on April 5 of this year.

In view of the present controversy concerning integration of the races in American schools and, too, of the rapid strides made of late (c.500,000 Catholics in 1900 and c.24,000,000 at the present time) of the colored people in Africa, a recent brochure of Carlos A. Lewis, S.V.D., a professor in St. Augustine's Seminary at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, entitled *Catholic Negro Bishops*, is of interest. Father Lewis gives biographical sketches of twenty-three living Negro bishops as well as of five bishops of the colored race who have died. The appendix contains a sketch of James A. Healy, Bishop of Portland, Maine, and a note on Francis Xavier de Luna Victoria (1695-1777), Bishop of Panama, 1751-1759, and later Bishop of Trujillo in Peru, who has been regarded by some historians to have been the first native-born bishop of the new world and to have been of Negro blood. It is Father Lewis' conclusion that de Luna Victoria was neither the first native-born bishop of the Americas nor was he a man of Negro ancestry. The brochure sells for $1.00 and can be purchased from the author whose address is given above.

An excellent reference tool is now available to the faculty and students of colleges in the Worcester, Massachusetts, area through the recent publication of a new edition of the *Union List of Serials in Worcester County* which lists more than 6,000 titles in sixteen libraries. The publication was

edited by Marion Henderson, Clark University Library, James M. Mahoney, Dinand Library, College of the Holy Cross, George L. Banay, Worcester State Hospital Library, and Lillian C. Plummer, Worcester Public Library. The project was financed by a grant from the United States Steel Foundation through the Association of College and Reference Libraries and from contributions of local industries. The holdings of the following libraries will be found in the Union list: Assumption College; Clark University; College of the Holy Cross; Worcester Polytechnic Institute; Worcester State Teachers College; Worcester Art Museum; Worcester County Law Library; Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology; Worcester Free Public Library; Worcester State Hospital; American Optical Company Research Library; American Optical Company Central Library; Astra Pharmaceutical Products, Inc., Morgan Construction Company; Norton Company; Wyman-Gordon Products Corporation. Libraries may obtain a copy ($7.00) by writing to James M. Mahoney.

Jean Egret's, "La dernière Assemblée du clergé de France, 5 mai-5 août 1788," *Revue historique,* 219 (January-March, 1958), describes the final gathering of the Gallican Church on the eve of the French Revolution.

Theological Studies, published at Woodstock College, has announced a series of bulletins on the history of the Church to cover significant work done in the field. The period from Pentecost to 604, handled by Martin R. P. McGuire of the Catholic University of America, will appear in March, 1959; 605 to 1303 by Robert E. McNally, S.J., of Woodstock College in March, 1960; 1304 to 1648, by Edward D. McShane, S.J., of Alma College in March, 1961; and 1649 to the present by John F. Broderick, S.J., of Weston College in March, 1962. Each bulletin will deal with important publications and developments in the preceding five years. The editors expect to publish a similar bulletin on American Church history in March, 1963. These surveys of church history, it is hoped, will become a permanent feature of the March issue of *Theological Studies.*

The American Heritage Publishing Company has announced a new journal to be called *Horizon,* a magine of the arts, for publication in September. It will appear six times a year and sell for $3.95 a copy or an annual subscription of $18.00 (pre-publication rate of $15.00). It will cover all the arts, have 144 pages of text, hard covers, and will include "an unprecedented amount of color." The success that has attended *American Heritage* augurs well for this new venture under the same auspices. *Horizon* will have as chairman of its advisory board Gilbert Highet of Columbia University with C. V. Wedgwood and Marquis Childs among the contributors to its inaugural issue.

On April 25-26 the Institute of Ethnic Studies, under the executive directorship of Tibor Kerekes, held its first annual roundtable conference at Georgetown University. The conference was devoted to the topic, "Nationalism in our Divided World."

Five Worcester educational institutions, Assumption College, Clark University, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and Worcester State Teachers College have formed a Worcester Association of Historians and Political Scientists. At the November meeting Raymond J. Marion of Assumption College spoke on the topic of "Franco-Americans in New England," and William L. Lucey, S.J., of Holy Cross had as his subject "Catholic Minorities in New England."

The United States Navy Department has announced plans to collect and publish the scattered documents relating to the naval and maritime history of the American Revolution. William Bell Clark will edit the work. The Navy Department would appreciate it if anyone possessing or knowing of unpublished letters, diaries, reports, ships' logs, and other Revolutionary War documents for the years 1775-1785, would make such material or information available to the Director of Naval History, Navy Department, Washington 25, D. C. Material submitted will be on a loan and will, of course, be returned.

Christopher Dawson, the distinguished English historian of culture, has been appointed as the first occupant of the Chauncey Stillman Chair of Roman Catholic Studies in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Mr. Dawson will lecture during the coming academic year on the theology of history. As the author of numerous and widely used books and articles on the historical aspects of the relations between religion and culture, his qualifications for his new post are, indeed, almost unique. His latest work, *The Dynamics of World History,* edited by John J. Molloy (Sheed & Ward, 1956), a volume of essays published in various journals over a period of a generation, has received the highest praise from reviewers. This will be Mr. Dawson's first trip to the United States, but he will find that he has many admirers of his scholarly accomplishments in this country who are eager to welcome him and to make his stay as pleasant and profitable as they possibly can.

On August 20 Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., archivist and head of the Department of History in the University of Notre Dame, and this year's Second Vice President of the Association, will read a paper on American

Catholic archives at a session devoted to church archives during the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Salt Lake City.

The Peter Guilday Prize of $100 which is granted annually by the Department of History of the Catholic University of America for the best master's thesis was awarded this year to Sister M. Peter Sanz O'Keefe, O.P., of Bethlehem Academy, Faribault, Minnesota, for her study on "William Leggett and the Abolitionist Movement of the 1830's." Sister Peter Sanz took her A.B. degree at the University of Illinois before she began her graduate training.

J. Walter Coleman, Superintendent of the Gettysburg National Park since 1941, has been appointed historian in the Washington office of the National Park Service where he will serve as co-ordinator for the Civil War centennial celebration to begin in 1961. Dr. Coleman took his A. B. and A.M. degrees at Pennsylvania State College and his Ph.D. in 1936 from the Catholic University of America with a dissertation entitled *Labor Disturbances in Pennsylvania, 1850-1880* which was a study of the Molly Maguires.

Carlton J. H. Hayes, Seth Low professor emeritus of modern history in Columbia University, will give a course in the history of modern nationalism during the autumn term at Boston College.

Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society to enable him to conclude his research in European archives for a two-volume work on Austria and the Vatican in the period from 1846 to 1918. The first volume, covering the pontificates of Pius IX and Leo XIII, was published earlier this year.

Lawrence J. McCaffrey, assistant professor of history in the College of St. Catherine, will be a visiting lecturer at the State University of Iowa during the coming academic year.

Richard Walsh of Georgetown University has been appointed to the editorial staff of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

William Keller, assistant professor of history in Seton Hall University, has been granted a summer Fulbright award for attendance at the seminar in modern European history at the Institute of European Studies at Turin.

John Young of Georgetown University, whose work, *The Location of Yamatai—a Case Study in Japanese Historiography, 720-1945,* has recently been published by the Johns Hopkins Press, will deliver a paper dealing with the North China Rural Study of the South Manchurian Railway at the Conference of the Junior Sinologues to be held in Venice in August, 1958. Professor Young has received a Ford grant for further studies dealing with this topic. His catalogue and index of the Japanese Army and Navy Archives, microfilmed by the Library of Congress, will likewise be published later this year.

Charles E. Ronan, S.J., assistant professor of Latin American history in Loyola University, Chicago, has been awarded a grant by the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia for research in Italian and Spanish archives. He will investigate the lives of Spanish American Jesuits who lived in Italy after their expulsion in 1767.

William S. Stokes, whose new book on Latin American politics will shortly be published, is leaving the University of Wisconsin, having accepted the chair of comparative political institutions at Claremont Men's College.

Maurice R. O'Connell, a descendant of the Irish liberator, will join the Department of History of the University of Portland in September with the rank of instructor. Mr. O'Connell took both his A.B. and A.M. degrees at University College, Dublin, with a major in modern Irish history and has spent two years at the University of Pennsylvania as a Ph.D. candidate. A year ago Mr. O'Connell was awarded a Harrison Fellowship by Pennsylvania, and during the past academic year he has been doing research in Ireland and England for his doctoral dissertation which deals with Anglo-Irish relations at the time of the American Revolution.

Raymond T. McNally of John Carroll University, a specialist in Russian history, who took his doctor's degree from the Free University of Berlin, will join the faculty of Boston College in September with the rank of assistant professor of history.

Carlos E. Castañeda died on April 4 at the age of sixty-one. Born in Camaroa, Mexico, he came to the United States at the age of twelve. He studied at the University of Texas where he took both his undergraduate and graduate training and, after an interval of teaching, won the Ph.D. degree in 1932. From 1923 to 1927 he taught at the College of William and Mary and at various times was a summer lecturer at the University of Mexico, Our Lady of the Lake College, the Catholic University of America, and the University of New Mexico. Upon his return to Austin in 1927 he began his serious publications with a volume entitled *The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution* (1928) and from that time on until several years ago when a serious heart attack compelled him to interrupt his research and writing, his books and articles appeared with regularity in his special field of the colonial history of Texas and of his native Mexico, the last work being his translation of the *Dialogues of Cervantes de Salazar* (1954). Dr. Castañeda's *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin, 1936 ff.) is widely considered the best general history of Texas during the Spanish period, although its title might easily lead one to believe that it pertained only to ecclesiastical history.

Dr. Castañeda's scholarly competence, genial and kindly personality, and devoted service to his profession brought him many honors. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, the recipient of several honorary degrees, among them one from the Catholic University of America; the Holy See made him a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and Spain conferred upon him the rank of Knight Commander of the Order of Isabel the Catholic. In 1939 he was elected president of the American Catholic Historical Association and in 1951 the Academy of American Franciscan History bestowed upon him the Serra Award. Professor Castañeda's death will be mourned among a wide circle of former students, colleagues, and friends, a circle that steadily widened during the more than thirty years that he was actively engaged in teaching, historical research, and publication.

BRIEF NOTICES

ALEXANDER, EDGAR. *Adenauer and the New Germany.* Translated from the German by Thomas E. Goldstein. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1957. Pp. xviii, 300. $5.25.)

This book by the author of a forthcoming major biography of the German chancellor represents political writing at a high level rather than critical historical analysis. Yet the historian will find it useful since Dr. Alexander provides an informed and restrained interpretation of a statesman on whom little serious literature has been written. His main thesis is that Adenauer is neither a wonder-worker nor an iron-clad autocrat; the chancellor has led, not ruled, Germany. His democratic paternalism derives in some measure from a belief in his political ability and in his unswerving devotion to democratic principles, evidenced in his earlier refusal to compromise with either Catholic monarchists or the Nazis; but the destruction of nearly a whole political generation by Nazism has made it a necessity. But the chancellor has been fortunate in that a significant part of Germany's political leaders and electorate, like himself, hold principles based on a natural law concept, e.g., that the state must have an ethical foundation, respect the rights of the individual, and stand above confessional, class, and national interest.

Evaluating the book on its own level, the reviewer would only criticize the author's failure to throw more light on the longtime, and often bitter, disagreement between the chancellor and the Socialists. Few critics would deny that Socialist opposition to the Adenauer foreign policy has been unrealistic and downright partisan. But can we trace the origins of this anti-Adenauer opposition to Socialist party politics and to their inability to accept the natural law position, as Dr. Alexander claims, or must we also seek the causes in the chancellor's reserve toward the other party in socio-economic affairs? In brief, we need to know more about Adenauer's social philosophy and especially his relations with right-wing groups in his own party.

Readers and specialists interested in the period from the Brüning chancellorship to 1956 would do better to consult the original German edition since its footnotes, rich in material, have been omitted from the American version. They point up, among other things, the issues in the debate between Brüning and Adenauer, and suggest how important the Brüning memoirs could be. (JOHN K. ZEENDER)

BERESFORD, M. W. and J. K. S. ST. JOSEPH. *Medieval England. An Aerial Survey.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 274. $8.50.)

Each plate in this handsome volume of photographs is a resonant note on the scales of a majestic requiem for England of the Middle Ages. The landscape of mediaeval England as viewed from the air is the subject matter. The authors have expressed their aim as follows: "The reconstruction of historical topography is not antiquarian, for the topography is a human creation, or rather a creation of men struggling with and using natural resources. When documents are silent, then landscape helps, and one dare use no stronger word." Even when documents are not silent, what they say is clarified and illuminated by a view of a particular topic from the air. What the written word tells about a town, a village, a road, or a manor is made more intelligible by a comprehensive and full view from above. The authors have enhanced the value of their work by their preference for oblique rather than vertical views. With these photographs it is easy to envisage the variegated activity of mediaeval Englishmen, masons placing stone upon stone of a castle or cathedral or wall, peasants following their ploughs through the fields, merchants in the marketplaces of the towns. There are four parts in this volume. Their titles, after Part I, which is both an introduction and a treatment of "Old Maps and New Photographs," suggest the subjects they cover: "The Fields and the Villages," "The Towns," "Industrial and other Features." Superb pictures take one to the strips and furlongs of Ilmington, the ridge-and-furrow of Broxholm, the site of a deserted village at Wormleighton, the crofts of Braunston, the walls, gates, market places, cathedrals, wharves of towns such as York, St. Ives, St. Neots, Chipping Campden, Royston, Chester, Berwick upon Tweed, the stone quarries of Barnack, the iron-pits of Bentley Grange. And very much more. With each photograph is a lucidly written explanation.

A work of this kind is another reminder to the teacher of history that his textbook is in itself quite inadequate for a rich and vital course. It is precisely this sort of volume that should be placed in the hands of the students. But so should atlases, paintings, and documents. The history teacher has need of a moving van when he goes to class. But one way or another he should see to it that the student of mediaeval England studies this aerial survey. (WILLIAM V. BANGERT)

BILLINGTON, JAMES H. *Mikhailovsky and Russian Populism.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 217. $4.80.)

The transition of Russia to the Soviet system will remain a rewarding subject for historians and social analysts for a long time to come. This

development has been an extremely complicated one. After the Crimean War, which had disclosed the weaknesses of the tsarist regime, the intelligentsia was completely bewildered by the outcome. Absolutism proved itself unable to keep pace with western Europe, and liberal ideas began to arouse the imagination of Russian youth. The influence of western political and social thinkers increased in importance. Sides were taken and resulted in ideological fragmentation, and foreign influences were also a dividing factor. Mr. Billington has been highly successful in picturing this seething state of mind of the Russian intelligentsia and in giving the reader an over-all view of its ideological despair and disintegration.

Mikhailovsky appeared on the scene in the early 1870's, and with his idea of populism *(narodnichestvo)* he stood between the Scylla and Charybdis of these antagonistic movements. A descendant of the gentry class, "with his long beard, his deep blue eyes, pince-nez and gentle manner," he did not look like a socialist. He was, of course, for evolution and against violence, but he was aware of the urgent necessity for extensive reforms. With his theories he tried to fill the void which had been expanding dangerously in the very center of Russian political life. Mikhailovsky's teaching was centered around two basic aspirations: social progress and a "new Christianity." His social philosophy was not internationalist, but focused on the problem of the Russian people. An improvement, according to his mind, should have been achieved by developing embryonic forms of Russian social life: *mir, obshchina,* and *artel,* which were forms of communal self-government, property and trade, respectively. In the field of religion, populism was a doctrine of Christianity protesting against oppression. Its weakness consisted, however, in the fact that it was claiming Christian morality without Christian metaphysics and expecting the coming kingdom of righteousness on earth. At the beginning of the twentieth century the pressure in the ideological cauldron of Russia was increasing. And there was no safety-valve. The alternative was: populism or Marxism. But Byzantine absolutism was so blind that without any discernment it considered both of these movements as equally dangerous. As social forces, populism and religion, divided into numerous trends and sects, proved unequal to their historical task. In the end, Communism, "the socialism of revenge," defeated the humanitarian socialism of Mikhailovsky. (JOSEPH A. MIKUS)

BRUMFITT, J. H. *Voltaire: Historian.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. 178. $4.00.)

This condensed and revised doctoral dissertation is primarily an assessment of Voltaire's significance in the history of historiography. Secondarily, it surveys the main characteristics of seventeenth and eighteenth-century

historical writing. With regard to its central figure, it recounts the reasons for Voltaire's interest in history, weighs his debt to Bayle and Fontenelle, describes his methodology, and discusses the degree to which his writings honored his avowed principles. Dr. Brumfitt is even-handed and dispassionate throughout. He omits none of Voltaire's many deficiencies as a historian: lack of originality, superficiality, ignorance of the techniques of basic research, inability to delineate character, propensity to judge the past in terms of eighteenth-century values, unwillingness to credit with sense or sincerity anyone who disagreed with himself, excessive predilection for ascribing major historical developments to trivial causes and accidents, and persistent use of history as a device to attack Christianity and to promote deism.

But these faults, albeit serious, were at least counterbalanced by Voltaire's virtues as a writer of history. More than any of his contemporaries Voltaire consciously strove to separate fable from fact and to make historical knowledge certain and scientific. He was the first to insist that the civilizations of ancient Egypt, China, and India must be included in any history that purported to be universal. He anticipated moderns in attempting to describe the totality of human experience. That he showed a narrow, dogmatic spirit in his treatment of the arts and sciences is unquestioned; that he had little knowledge of the ancient civilizations about which he wrote so confidently is equally true. The important thing, however, is not how he dealt with these matters but that he included them at all: that he saw, as most *ancien régime* "historians" did not, that without them history is incomplete. Thus for all his faults as a writer of history Voltaire wrought something approaching a Copernican revolution in historical method.

Dr. Brumfitt's volume has a number of defects, more irritating than serious. It is frequently repetitious and it is written throughout in the present tense, a practice which is doubtless technically permissible but which seems an unnecessarily artificial way to describe events 200 years in the past. Moreover, the work is cluttered with dozens of untranslated French quotations, and while there is a certain justification for this in that Voltaire is enabled thereby to speak for himself on many points, yet it breaks the flow of the narrative and does not enhance the literary quality of the book. These remarks, however, are complaints about form rather than substance. The book is sound and fair, and it is a valuable addition to our knowledge of one aspect of the Enlightenment. (Bernard Norling)

Carter, Clarence Edwin. (Ed.). *The Territorial Papers of the United States.* Volume XXII, *The Territory of Florida: 1821-1824.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1956. Pp. x, 1129. $8.25.)

This huge volume of the Florida territorial papers is well edited. The printing is good; it is meticulously exact, and it has a 140-page index that

gives a clue to every idea mentioned in the book. Naturally, this type of work does not carry a novel-like interest, but it does portray graphically the life that went on in the newly-acquired territory of the Floridas. Like all budding territories, there were difficulties in getting a legislature operating, and establishing courts of law. There was a need of trained personnel for almost every office, and money was scarce. Florida had a few special problems. The old Spanish laws and customs had to be changed over for the Anglo-American way of life. Moreover, under the Spanish system, West Florida was a distinct political entity from East Florida, and because there had been little commerce between the sister colonies, there were distinct practices in many things.

Students of American Catholic history will note with interest the letter of Bishop John England of Charleston to President Monroe. The prelate wrote to the chief executive in order to protect the property of the Catholic Church. When the cession of Florida was effected Father Michael Crosby, the last of the Irish priests Spain had brought over to East Florida, was stationed in St. Augustine. A year later he died. When Bishop England of nearby Charleston heard that the United States attorney in Florida, Alexander Hamilton, appeared to regard the church properties in St. Augustine as reverting to the public domain, he unhesitatingly declared to Monroe that the property both before and after the cession belonged to the Church. On the recommendation of Attorney General William Wirt the case was so settled.

Meanwhile England had gotten in touch with Roman authorities to have the disputed ecclesiastical status of the Floridas clarified. Some believed it a part of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, while others were inclined to think it still was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Havana. Rome finally settled the matter by erecting the Vicariate of Alabama-Mississippi to which the Floridas were later added. Fortunately for the Church, England had been ready to intervene, for without his action property might have been lost here as it had been elsewhere during periods of transfer when no one was on hand to uphold the claims of the Church.

The names of many a great man can be found flitting across the pages of this volume: Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Matthew Perry, David Porter, and others. One can readily note, too, the change in the public's appraisal of Florida. In 1763 a London magazine referred to it as a "Sandy Desert." Sixty years later, the inhabitants were loud in their confidence that the newly acquired territory would quickly become self-supporting and wealthy. Florida realtors gave their native land a high rating even in those days. (MICHAEL J. CURLEY)

DOWNEY, GLANVILLE (Trans. and Ed.). *Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.* Greek Text Edited with Translation, Commentary, and Introduction. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 47, Part 6, pp. 855-924.] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1957. Pp. 857-924. $2.00.)

Mesarites was a prominent eastern churchman who took a leading part in the negotiations for reunion of the churches after the Fourth Crusade, and, as Exarch of Ephesus, represented in 1214 the Empire of Nicaea in the conference with the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius. The Church of the Holy Apostles was among the most venerable in eastern Christendom; it had been built by Constantius, if not by the great Constantine himself; in its sanctuary were interred SS. John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen; adjoining it, the mausoleums of Constantine and Justinian housed the remains of many famous Byzantine emperors. Furthermore, attached to the church were a public bath and a school. Mesarites describes this whole complex in detail. Two sections of his work have special interest: the one, in which he gives a careful account of the position, subject, and composition of the mosaics with which the interior was covered; and the other, in which he pictures for us the varied activities of the school, from the youngest pupils learning reading, writing, and arithmetic to the most advanced students of philosophy and music. Mesarites thus makes an important contribution to our knowledge both of Byzantine art (the Church of the Holy Apostles has long since disappeared) and of Byzantine education.

We are grateful to Professor Downey not only for giving us a new edition of the now inaccessible Heisenberg critical text, but especially for supplying for the first time an English translation of a difficult piece of mediaeval technical Greek. May I add that scholars will be grateful to the American Philosophical Society for publishing the book at a price within easy reach of all? (MARTIN J. HIGGINS)

GANNON, JOHN MARK. *The Martyrs of the United States of America.* Edited by James M. Powers. (Erie: Chancery Office. 1957. Pp. xviii, 196. $3.20.)

At its annual meeting in 1939 the hierarchy of the United States heard Bishop Gannon of Erie introduce a resolution that the assembled prelates petition the Holy See to beatify and canonize the missionaries who were martyred in what is now the United States. The hierarchy approved the resolution and appointed the Bishop of Erie chairman of a committee to gather, authenticate, and record the available data on the martyrs. Assisting the bishop in his work were John J. Wynne, S.J., Michael Kenny,

S.J., Marion Habig, O.F.M., Reginald Coffey, O.P., and James M. Powers of the Diocese of Erie.

After months of work the manuscript was sent to the Sacred Congregation of Rites through Cardinal Dougherty, then dean of the American hierarchy. The present book features this manuscript containing a brief martyrology for each of 116 clerics and laymen who suffered violent death for Christ in the territories of the United States. The sources for the information on each martyr are also included. Appendices to the manuscript list the martyrs by diocese and in chronological order and add further, later-discovered, information about five martyrs already mentioned and two not previously discussed. Besides the manuscript, which is the body of the book, several chapters on sanctity, especially in the United States, by Archbishop Gannon and Monsignor Powers; letters of commendation from the Apostolic Delegate and members of the American hierarchy; and a report on the causes of thirteen saintly Americans for whom diocesan processes are being conducted fill out the volume. All should be grateful to Archbishop Gannon for making the manuscript on the martyrs and the sources of their martyrology available to the public. (VINCENT dePAUL McMURRY)

GRAGG, FLORENCE A. (Trans.). *The Commentaries of Pius II*, Books X-XIII. Introduction and Historical Notes by Leona C. Gabel. (Northampton: Smith College Studies in History XLIII. 1957. Pp. xxxviii, 621-882. $3.00.)

Miss Gragg and Miss Gabel published the first installment (Book I) of their annotated translation of the *Commentaries of Pius II* in Smith College Studies in History XXII, Nos. 1-2 (1936-1937). The second installment (Books II-III) appeared *ibid.* XXV (1939-1940); the third (Books IV-V), *ibid.* XXX (1947); the fourth (Books VI-IX), *ibid.* XXXV (1951). The fifth and last installment (Books X-XIII) contains, in addition to the translation, an introduction, a bibliography, and a general index. As indicated in the notice of the first installment in this REVIEW, XXVI (October, 1940) 403, Codex Vaticanus Reginiensis 1995, discovered by Pastor in the 1880's, has been used as the basis of the translation. Passages omitted in the third printed edition, that of Frankfort in 1614, are indicated in the translation by italics. A part of the manuscript mentioned was actually written by Pius II himself. In spite of some inaccuracies and signs of hasty composition, the *Commentaries of Pius II*, through their rich and varied content, constitute a vivid and precious source for the life and times of their author. They give us a firsthand account of fifteenth-century Italy, of the relations between the papacy and France, of the relations between the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, and of the attempts of

Pius II to rouse Europe to a new crusade against the Turks. Because of their discursive character they contain much valuable information also on the religious and social life of the age. The translation is well done, the long introduction gives an excellent evaluation of the *Commentaries,* the bibliography is good, and the general index is adequate. The historical notes accompanying the translation are useful, but one could wish at times they were fuller and more numerous. Since a consecutive pagination has been employed throughout the installments of the translation, it is to be hoped that the whole work can soon be made available in a single volume. One reads with regret in the preface that "the publication of the Latin text of the original MS has unfortunately proved impossible." (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

FRAME, DONALD M. (Trans.). *The Complete Works of Montaigne. Essays, Travel Journal, Letters.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvi, 1094. $12.50.)

A devoted and life-long scholar of Montaigne, Dr. Frame was excellently qualified to offer a translation of Montaigne's complete works to modern generations of English-speaking readers unable to enjoy the original. The translator clearly states his purpose in undertaking the task:

> My aim in translating Montaigne has been to capture in modern English not only his meaning but also the living, natural quality of his style. I have deliberately chosen to retain, as he did, as many as possible of the idiosyncrasies that portray him: the vivid, bold images; the epigrammatic word play; the meandering, associative order, often disdainful of logical connectives: the obscenity, which is a studied protest against man's rejection of the body. I have smoothed the rough spots over only when they seemed less characteristic of Montaigne than of his time or when the claims of intelligible English seemed clearly to out-weigh those of scrupulous fidelity. I have tried, in short, to express Montaigne as I think he would have expressed himself had he been writing in English today.

A careful comparison of many random pages with the original and with other translations shows that Dr. Frame has succeeded to a large extent in attaining the aims he set up for himself. Naturally, in matters of style there are bound to be personal preferences. To the present reviewer, it seems that here and there the translator's choices fall short of his aims. His diction is not always as modern as he thinks or as colloquial as the French. And occasionally he fails to retain the original image when he could easily have done so; more often, however, images are gained, i.e., what Montaigne expressed abstractly, he renders with a very appropriate metaphor. On the whole, readers of this translation may be assured that Dr. Frame's English transmits Montaigne's voice clearly and unmistakably. (ALESSANDRO S. CRISAFULLI)

GREER, EDWARD C. *Cork Hill Cathedral.* (Davenport: Sacred Heart Cathedral, 1956. Pp. xiii, 248. $4.00 cloth; $3.00 paper.)

The first Catholic church of Davenport, and the only church of any denomination in all Iowa which is still in use and still standing on its original foundation after 120 years, is St. Anthony's. It was named after the patron saint of Antoine Le Claire, a striking figure in early Iowa history. A half-breed of French and Indian descent, this wealthy and zealous Catholic was more than generous in providing for the erection of old St. Anthony's Church in 1837. The first cathedral of Davenport, erected as a parish church in 1856, was named St. Margaret's, in honor of the patron saint of Marguerite Le Claire whose husband, Antoine, again played the role of the munificent benefactor. Marguerite, like her husband, was of French and Indian extraction, and on her mother's side she proudly traced her lineage to one of the most illustrious chieftains of the Fox tribe, Aquoqua, life-long friend and supporter of Iowa's first white settler, Julien Dubuque, at his Mines of Spain. Aquoqua was visited and interviewed at Dubuque's village by such distinguished explorers and writers as J. C. Beltrami and Henry R. Schoolcraft.

Cork Hill is the now forgotten name of the site of St. Margaret's Church, and this parish history is the chronicle not only of St. Margaret's, which became the cathedral in 1881, but also of the present Sacred Heart Cathedral which was erected nearby and which supplanted old St. Margaret's in 1890. It is a parish chronicle of events that have been meticulously garnered and pleasantly presented. As the parish is a cathedral parish, the writer judged it well to go somewhat far afield in describing episcopal affairs including consecrations, funeral obsequies, etc. Yet this is not necessarily extraneous padding since it is in some degree germane to the story. The book is a good example of historical research on what is popularly called today "the local level," and which is the bedrock of all recorded annals. It is replete with excellent illustrations and rosters of priests, nuns, and others who were connected with the parish and its schools. On that future day when and if the history of the Diocese of Davenport is written, this book will prove a fruitful source for both facts and figures. (M. M. HOFFMAN)

KASER, DAVID. *Messrs. Carey & Lea of Philadelphia. A Study in the History of the Booktrade.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1957. Pp. 182. $4.00.)

This contribution to the history of the Philadelphia booktrade during the years 1822 to 1838 covers the last period during which that city dominated New York as a publishing center. The firm of Carey and Lea, under control of the son and son-in-law, respectively, of the founder, Mathew

Carey, is widely noted for its promotion of English authors, such as Scott and Dickens, and the introduction of American authors, notably Cooper and Irving, to their fellow countrymen. It is significant that "most of the works published by the firm during its seventeen-year history were reprints," especially of English authors who were at an economic disadvantage because of lack of copyright. The initial steps in reprinting had been undertaken by Mathew Carey in the preceding decade. After an unsuccessful venture in law publishing, Carey & Lea found a more lucrative and permanent interest in medical titles, capitalizing on Philadelphia's strength as the country's leading medical center, which thus served both as a market and a source of authorship. One of their pioneer ventures was the publishing of the first *Encyclopaedia Americana* based on a translation of the German Brockhaus. Carey & Lea had no interest in issuing Catholic titles and one finds that even the founder, Mathew Carey, had his religious works published by other firms with Carey & Lea handling Mathew's economic and miscellaneous titles only.

The author is favorably disposed toward Carey & Lea, pointing out that they began paying royalties to foreign authors when it was not required, and that in general they were in the forefront of "every promising new trend in the booktrade during the 1820's and 1830's." Here Carey & Lea continued in the tradition of Mathew Carey who, incidentally, receives short shrift in these pages. In view of the many decades that have elapsed since the publication of Bradsher's book on the latter it would have appeared advisable to give a longer introduction and more background material on the origins of the firm. Despite this deficiency, the author has produced a work to be welcomed as a worthy addition to the history of book publishing and book selling in the United States, for Carey & Lea also did a remarkably fine piece of work in promoting the sales of publications other than their own. (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

KENNEDY, GAIL (Ed.). *Evolution and Religion. The Conflict between Science and Theology in Modern America.* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co. 1957. Pp. xii, 114. $0.00.)

This recent addition to the Amherst College series of Problems in American Civilization is a collection of excerpts from the writings of such prominent figures as Richard Hofstadter, Walter Lippmann, John Dewey, Reinhold Niebuhr, Sidney Hook, and others. The selections focus critical attention on the revolutionary impact which Darwin and his successors had on American Protestant theology. As a result they allow a clear insight into the dilemma which faced Protestants in general—how to reconcile the claims of science with their traditional theology. The solutions were, indeed, curious and not too encouraging. Some early inter-

preters of the evolutionary theory failed to distinguish between scientific postulates and scientific facts, and the results are mirrored in their writings and sermons. On the other hand, certain later interpreters, not accepting revealed truth, attempted to force supernatural events into the small confines of scientific fact. The editor identifies William Jennings Bryan, of course, with fundamentalism, Harry Emerson Fosdick with modernism, and John Dewey with humanism. Walter M. Horton introduces the new orthodoxy which is followed by Niebuhr's "The Truth in Myths"; Hook's spiritual darkness is succinctly expressed in "The New Failure of Nerve"; Hofstadter's contribution is the first chapter of his volume, *Social Darwinism in American Thought;* and Lippmann's "Four Dialogues" emphasizes again the power of the Socratic method when applied by a keen mind. In many of the selections there is revealed the ineptness of a theology which dismissed an authoritarian, divinely inspired guide. The editor was mainly concerned with Protestant theology, but he refers briefly to the Catholic position in the introduction (p. ix), and again in the "Selections for Additional Reading" (p. 114). The little volume will provide the reader with a stimulus for thought on an interesting subject, and he can make good use of the suggestions for further reading which are rather comprehensive. (FRANCIS G. MCMANAMIN)

MCDEVITT, V. EDMUND, F.S.C. *The First California's Chaplain.* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild. 1956. Pp. 259. $4.75.)

It is gratifying to know that not all Californians are exclusively occupied in the spectacular and current story of the growth of their state—a growth which has made it the second most populous in the Union. There are those who are endeavoring, in a modest sort of way, to convince the newcomers and the "oldtimers" (defined, now, as anyone who was in California before World War II!) that the history of their state is certainly worth the telling. There are likewise some "out here" who have caught a glimpse of the importance of the American period of the Catholic Church in California.

One such is Brother Edmund who has written this interesting story of the life of William D. McKinnon (1858-1902), a California priest who served as chaplain of the First California Regiment in the Spanish-American War and whose statue stands in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. Brother Edmund is a trained historian and this shows through all of the pages of this competently written account of Chaplain McKinnon. His industry in collecting the available materials and presenting them with commendable impartiality is praiseworthy, indeed. Obviously, the book will be of interest primarily to those who like and read Californiana. To my mind, however, its chief significance lies in the fact that it is another

advance along the monograph trail (a trail which must first be made) which so surely will, in a future day, result in an authoritative history of the *Gesta Dei Catholica* in California. When that day arrives, it is to be hoped that the one who writes such a volume will not forget the hewers of literary wood and the drawers of water who have, each in his own way, made the writing of such a volume possible. Brother Edmund now belongs to this group; may he continue edging forward along this same monograph trail. (JOHN B. MCGLOIN)

NEF, JOHN U. *Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 163. $4.00.)

Ellen Glasgow, in a letter written in 1943, expressed herself as being appalled at "the victory of the inventive mind over the intellect." Professor Nef is equally appalled at the modern attempt to make human values play a subservient role to productivity statistics. Cultivation of the great human attributes of love, honor, justice, and charity are dependent upon the human personality which both the scientist and statistician tend to ignore. As the well known professor of economic history at the University of Chicago says:

> It is neither in the rise of modern science nor in the rise of modern economics that the *cultural* foundations of "civilization" can be mainly found. Their principal sources were the partially successful efforts to practice a Christian life in the temporal world and to bring about an alliance between the quest for beauty and the quest for virtue in a society dedicated to delight.

This is a book which traces the evolution of the economy of the West through the rising influence of science and technology without losing sight of the dedicated European craftsmen who, in fabricating beautiful things with their hands, helped make possible "the eventual triumph of power-driven machinery and mass production." In ranging over such varied topics as Movements of the Mind, the Origin of Civilization, the Genesis of Industrialism, and the Spiritual and Aesthetic Basis of Civilization, Dr. Nef accentuates the role of man's changing attitudes and interests in bringing about industrial civilization. His work is characterized by a certain turbidity of style. Since the book is developed from the Wiles Lectures, delivered by the author at the Queen's University, Belfast, in 1956 the transition from the spoken word to the written one could be responsible for some of the murkiness. The old Greek concept of vital powers along lines of excellence in a life affording them scope may be relevant to an epitome of Nef's philosophy. It could also be true that in opposing the trend toward naturalism and materialism so discernible in our present culture, he believes as does his friend, Jacques Maritain, in "a world of free men inspired by a real and valid Christianity." (JOSEPH F. SINZER)

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scholarly treatment to a man who was a leading figure in Georgia politics for nearly forty years, a member of Grover Cleveland's second cabinet, twice Governor of Georgia, and for a decade United States Senator from Georgia. Hoke Smith was the co-author of the Smith-Towner education bill of 1917 which proposed to establish a federal Department of Education.

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